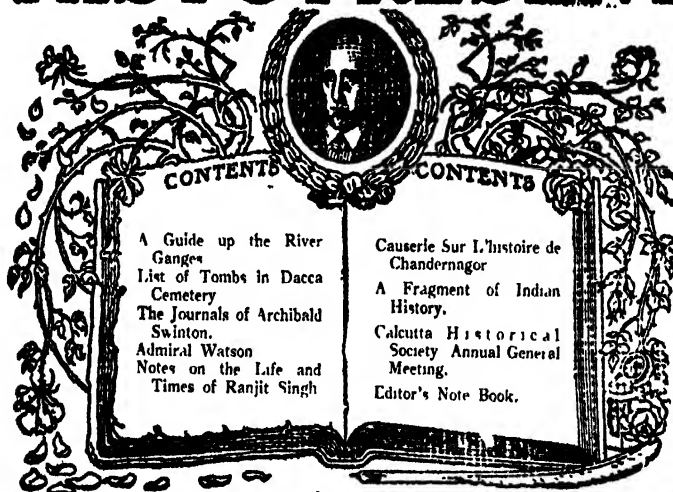


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BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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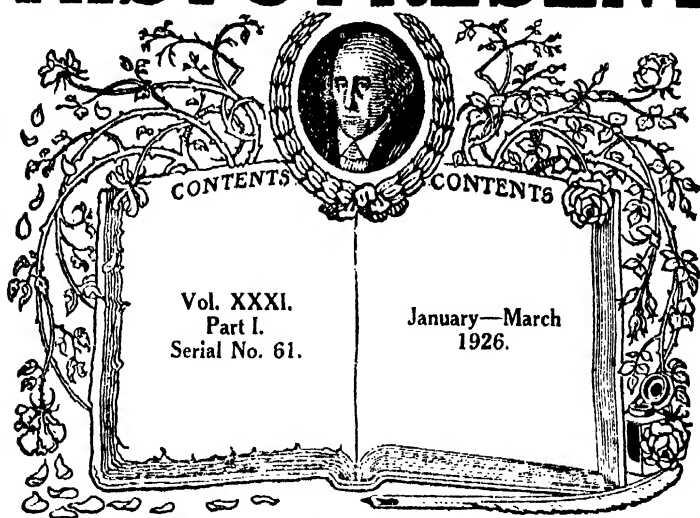
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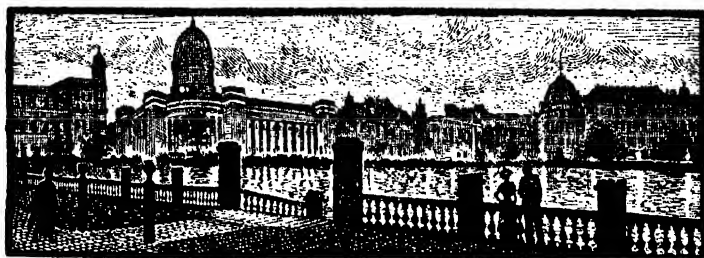


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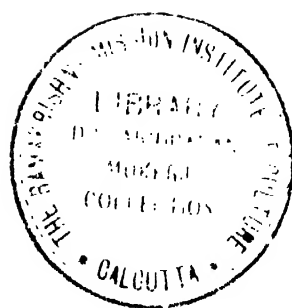
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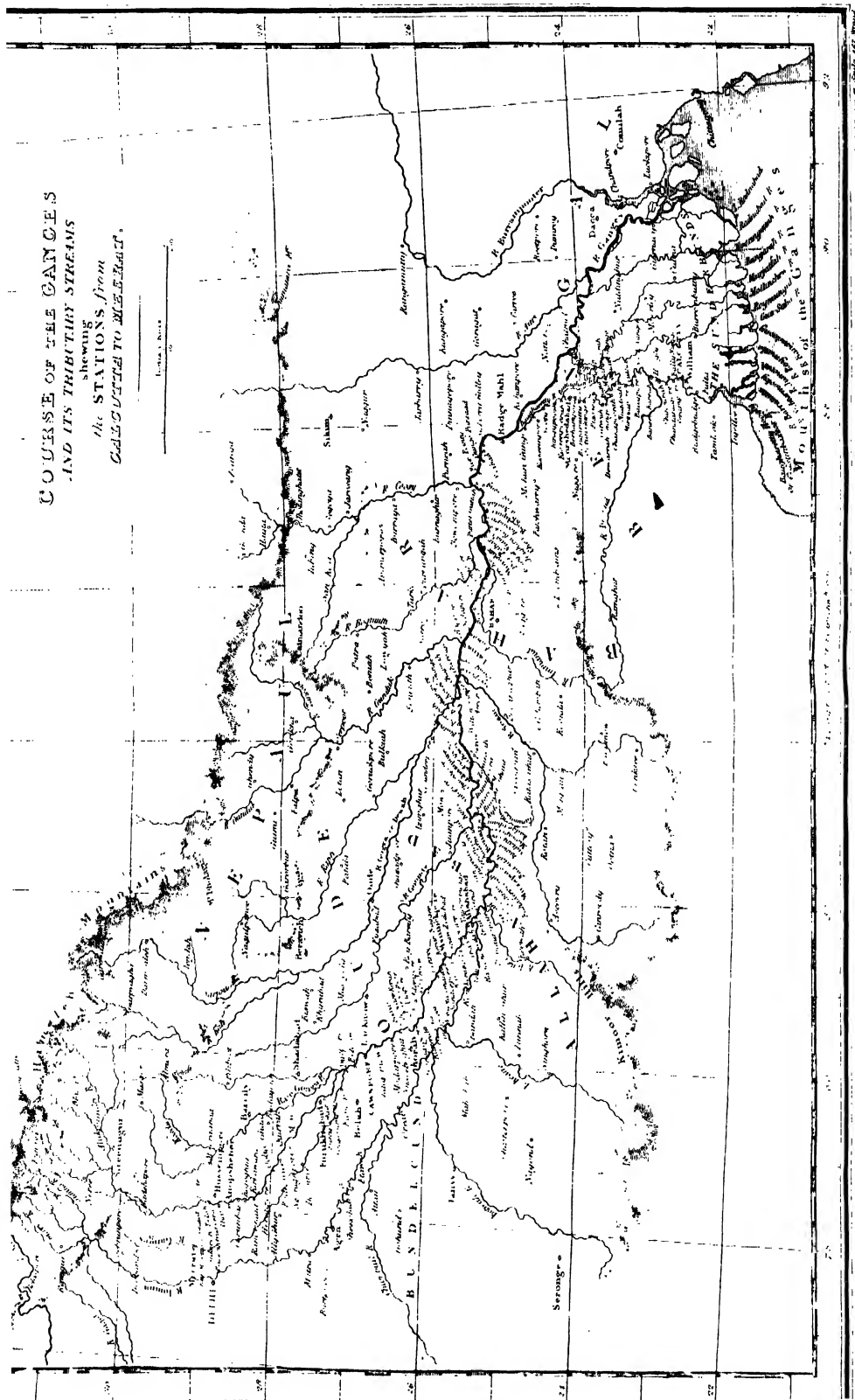
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COURSE OF THE GANGES
AND ITS TRIBUTARY STREAMS
showing
the STATIONS from
WHICH THEY MEET.

Scale of Miles
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A Guide up the River Ganges,

from Calcutta to Calmypore, Ruffeh Chur, Meerat, &c.;

WITH THE CORRECT DISTANCES OF EVERY STATION.

HAVING experienced both difficulty and delay, from ignorance of this navigation, and the different species of accommodation that each station offers to the voyager, the Author is led to believe that a correct statement of these particulars will not be unacceptable, particularly to those who, newly arrived in Bengal, may be under the necessity to make the voyage.

On his arrival in Calcutta, a young man is generally received into the house of some friend, or person to whom he brings an introduction; (a circumstance of great importance on his thus setting out in life); but should he come unprovided with such recommendation, he is reduced to the necessity of resorting to a tavern; of which, although there are several in Calcutta, they are not considered a respectable residence, being for the most part dirty, unpleasantly situated, extravagant in their charges, and frequented chiefly by Europeans of the lowest class.

If in the King's service, a young man's first step is to wait upon the brigade-major to the King's troops, (who resides in Fort William,) and report the date of his arrival; from which day his pay and allowances commence. The brigade-major furnishing him with a certificate to this effect, his recommendation will enable a gentleman so applying to procure quarters in the fort—a subaltern officer two rooms, a captain four; but as these apartments are not furnished, such accommodation is only of use to those who are destined to remain there for some time.

If he happen to be an officer in the service of the East India Company, he should apply in a similar manner to the town-major, who will furnish him with the necessary certificates and instructions. He will perhaps learn from him that he is posted to a regiment in the upper provinces of Hindostan, to which he is directed to proceed by water, and that he will by proper application get his boat expenses paid. The mode of making this application, with the consequent preparations for the voyage, it is my intention, in as clear a manner as possible, to point out. He must, in the first place, after having procured his certificate, repair to the auditor-general's office, and produce it, stating the orders he may have received, and requesting his boat allowance to the place of his destination; the half of which will be immediately given him, and authority to draw for the remainder at a stated period.

There are but two kind of boats at the same time safe and commodious, and these are called, the one a pinnace (or small cutter,) the other a

budgerow. They are each drawn up the river by men called *dandies*, with another to guide the helm, named a *maunjie*. They each contain a bedroom at the stern, a sitting-room in the centre, and an anti-room in front towards the deck, the whole being surrounded by Venetian blinds. They are hired at so many rupees a month, according to the number of oars: pinnaces, from one hundred and fifty to four hundred and twenty rupees a month; budgerows, from ninety-seven to one hundred and seventy-six. Baggage-boats to accompany the above, from twenty-two to ninety-seven rupees a month. To a budgerow carrying sixteen oars, at one hundred and fifty-seven rupees a month, a baggage-boat would be required at thirty-five, and a cooking-boat at twenty-two, which are of sufficient size to encounter any weather, and at the same time afford ample accommodation for servants, provisions, &c. The best mode of procuring these boats is by application to Messrs. Barber and Co. at the Old Fort Ghaut, who will also furnish hands to navigate them, and become security for their not deserting, a circumstance by no means unusual on this voyage, which may perhaps be attributed to the custom of advancing the half of their wages to them before they start, in order, as they allege, to enable their families to procure subsistence during their absence. Besides the security given by Barber and Co., I should recommend that a *clashie* be engaged as a servant to keep guard over, and expedite their movements on the voyage. This man will also be found useful in procuring supplies from the several bazaars *en passant*. Some other preparations are also necessary, such as poultry, a few fat sheep, a couple of milch goats, (whose milk in this country is free from any particular flavour, and in tea is infinitely preferable to cow's milk,) tea, sugar, a quantity of hard biscuits, bread, cheese, &c. This latter article is not manufactured in India, but may be procured in the China Bazaar at Calcutta, fresh from England, at a moderate price, sometimes even under prime cost. The pine-apple shape is the best for keeping; and it should be kept in a common earthen jar, with a wet cloth tied over the mouth of it.

The voyage from Calcutta to Cawnpore is generally considered to occupy a space of three months; to Futteh Ghur a week longer; and to Ghur Moktasir Ghaut, near Meerat, twenty days more.

Embarking from Calcutta during the months of March, April, or May, it will be necessary to surround the budgerow with tatties, or blinds, made on a bamboo frame to fit the windows, covered with the fibrous roots of a sweet-scented grass called *cus cus*, which will last the voyage, and by being watered from the top of the budgerow, render the apartments cool and comfortable. Although these roots are firmly wove together, they by no means exclude the light. Of an evening, after the sun is set, they are removed entirely, and replaced in the morning. The hot wind seldom blows so violently as to require them, except from about nine o'clock in the morning until sun-set; the hottest time is from twelve o'clock until five in the afternoon. The *clashie* will procure these tatties, and is the proper person to superintend the watering them, &c. If you have palankeen bearers on board, they ought to assist.

A small book, called Hadley's Grammar, (which can be purchased at any bookseller's in Calcutta,) is also a necessary appendage to prevent being imposed upon by the representation of any servant who may speak a little English, and thereby gain an ascendancy over his master to the prejudice of the rest. These men are frequently met with in Calcutta, and are always ready to serve a new comer; but they are generally people of low caste, and not to be depended upon.

Leaving Calcutta with the tide, you generally reach a place called *Bully Nuggur* before it turns, unless indeed the wind blows strong against you. This place is inhabited entirely by natives. Here you cast anchor, and remain until the tide serves again; and having passed the Danish settlement of *Serampore*, the French one of *Chandanagore*, arrive at that of the Dutch called *Chinsurah*, where you encounter the second tide. You may indeed, if you are fortunate, reach a place called *Banse Bareah*, which is two hours farther; but here nothing is procurable except provision for natives. The boats are moored at sunset, and unmoored at sunrise, it being dangerous on account of shoals to travel after dark. When you come-to, for the night, (which it is advisable on many accounts to do before sunset,) the boatmen cook their victuals, which operations is performed on the shore by means of small stoves, formed from a loomy kind of earth of which these banks are composed. Their cooking utensils are not cumbersome: one large brass, or iron pot, serves to boil rice for all of the same caste, while each man carries his brass platter, and *lota*, of the same material, to drink out of.

It is usual to start the boats at day-break, but they manage it so quietly as not to disturb your repose. *Sook Saugor* is the next place, and is about seven hours from *Banse Bareah*; from hence you may with ease reach *Ballypore* by sun-set. Milk may be procured at all these villages, and some kinds of vegetable; but no poultry or eggs, except where Mussulmen reside.

Start at day-break next morning, and in eight hours you reach *Culna*. From thence to *Mirzapore* is five hours farther, where you had better remain for the night, and may procure all sorts of provisions. This place contains many Europeans, and is celebrated for the manufacture of carpets, printed chintz, &c. Purchase *punkahs* here.

From *Mirzapore* to *Nuddeah* is seven hours; from *Nuddeah* to the entrance of the *Jaliny* river, an hour and a half; from the *Jaliny* to *Stuart Gunge*, three hours.

From *Stuart Gunge* to a small village called *Meahpoorah*, six hours; and from thence to *Chandpoorah*, six hours. This latter is a miserably poor place; it is therefore better to stop at the first good bank for legowing upon after quitting *Chandpoorah*; of this, the mangy or captain of the crew will inform you. It is always desirable to keep him in good humour, by attending a little to his advice, as on him depends in a great measure both your expedition and comfort on the voyage.

From *Chandpoorah* to *Augur Deep* is ten hours good pulling, oftener twelve. The river between these places winds so much, that it takes nearly a day to arrive, where the distance in a straight line would not be above three miles.

From *Angur Deep* to *Dewarrah Gunge* is four hours; from *Dewarrah Gunge* to *Cutwah*, eight more.

From *Cutwah* to *Plassey* (the scene of Lord Clive's victory over the Bengalees, which first gave us footing in the country) is nine hours. This is a fine sporting country, but dangerous on account of tigers.

From *Plassey* to *Satan Gunge* is twelve hours; *Satan Gunge* to *Rangamully*, four hours; *Rangamully* to *Berhampore*, eight hours. This is the nearest station to Calcutta which contains European soldiers, except the artillery cantonment of *Dum Dum*; but that is ten miles on the other side Calcutta, and inland. *Berhampore* contains besides a King's regiment of infantry, one or more battalions of seapoys, and is famous for sundry manufactures, which they bring to the boats for sale; such as stockings, silk handkerchiefs, &c. There are, besides, two shops kept by Englishmen, which are well supplied with articles from England of all description, sold at the average of a rupee for a shilling. The officers' barracks are about two hundred yards inland: they are handsome, and regularly built, forming a square, one side of which fronts the river. The bank on which they stand is high, sloping, and turfed to the water's edge, with here and there a flight of stone steps for the accommodation of passengers. The parade runs along the edge of it. This station is commanded by a general officer, to whom you are expected, through his brigade major, to report your arrival, and ask his orders; and in like manner report *progress*, as it is called, at every military station upon the river, and also to the adjutant of your regiment, wherever that may be.

From *Berhampore*, the city of *Moorshedabad* is about seven hours tracking, although by land the distance is only seven miles. The river at this place is low at all seasons, and the numerous boats *legwood* to its banks contribute to impede the voyager. The boat's crew provide themselves here, with rice for their voyage, it being very plentiful in this part; and the higher they proceed up the country, the more scarce, and consequently dearer it becomes. Sugar is also remarkably cheap at *Moorshedabad*.

A little beyond this city is the entrance of a small river called the *Kattaghan*, which it is advisable to pass, and to fasten your boat on the opposite side, the inhabitants of *Moorshedabad* not being famed for honesty.

From hence to *Kissenpoorah* (a small village) it is six hours; from *Kissenpoorah* to *Jungypoor*, six more. At the latter is a manufactory for silks, under the control of the commercial resident.

From *Jungypoor* to *Sooty* is six hours.

To *Kasseinpoor* six more.

From *Kusseinpoor* to *Mohun Gunge*, nine hours; and from hence to the entrance of the Ganges, three hours more.

Having now quitted the *Baughareddy* or *Cossimbazar* river, you proceed by the left bank of the Ganges, without seeing more than a few scattered huts, until sun-set.

From hence to *Radge Mahl* is seven hours. Here the ruin of a magnificent palace, formerly belonging to the Rajah, may be seen; and here, every

day about noon, the postmen from East to West meet, and exchange their despatches, which affords the traveller an opportunity of communication either way. Bread, vegetables, kid, (which is a great delicacy in this country,) fowls, eggs, fruit, and charcoal, are found here in great abundance. The inhabitants sell also marble slabs to press paper, carved into various shapes. This is almost the widest part of the river, and in the rainy season has the appearance of an ocean.

From *Radge Mahl* to *Sickerry Gulley* is fourteen hours. This is a station for invalid seapoys, with a small bungalow belonging to the superintending officer of these establishments. This part of the country abounds with beasts of prey. *Radge Mahl* is the nearest approach that the river makes to that ridge of mountains which runs in a north-west direction from Calcutta, and are called the *Radge Mahl* hills.

From hence you quickly pass the small village of *Saabad*, and in two hours more that of *Gunga Pursaad*. Here it is advisable to *legow* for the night, as you will not find so good a place for many miles. The finest honey in India is to be procured here, and very cheap. From *Gunga Pursaad* to *Sickerry Gully* is about five hours' tracking. This is a Hindoo village, and nothing to be got except milk.

The next village of any consequence is *Pier Ponty*, which you ought to reach in twelve hours.

From *Pier Ponty* to *Puttal Guttah* is a hard day's pull; but there is generally a breeze of wind near the hills, which carries the boat forward in opposition to the stream.

The next place is *Col Goug*, which you may reach about sun-set on the following day. It contains a good bazaar, and the houses of several European officers of the Company's service who reside here upon their pensions, besides one or two indigo planters.

Move forward at day-break the following morning, about ten o'clock you will pass a *nullah*; and at three reach the populous village of *Bogglipore*. This is a station for seapoys commanded by European officers; a judge, collector, &c. A peculiar description of cloth is manufactured here, which takes its name from the place. It is advisable to remain at *Bogglipore* for the night. The best ghaut to *legow* at, is called *Bibee Gunge*.

Cast off the boats at day-break, and towards evening you will reach the village of *Cheu Cheraigne*.

About ten the next morning you will pass the *Jinghira* Rock, about half-past one the *Gurgut Nullah*, and at sun-set find nothing but a patch of sand to *legow* upon; it is therefore advisable to stop at the first good ground you meet with, after passing the *Nullah*.

The next place is *Pier Pahar*, where the stream runs so strong, that unless you have a breeze to stem it, you will not reach *Moughir* until seven or eight at night. At *Moughir* are some curious hot springs, and many other things worth seeing. It is a large station for invalid seapoys, commanded by a general officer. Birds of beautiful plumage are offered for sale, but they will not live away from their native hills.

Pass the end of two *nullahs*, and come to a village inhabited by seapoy pensioners, near *Soorage Gurrah*.

From *Soorage Gurrah* to *Barcah*, which is a good legowing place, may be done in about seven hours.

From *Bareah* to *Deriapore* (twenty koss from *Monghir*) will take the whole day: it is better to legow before you arrive there, as a koss or two beyond it, you will find nothing but sand.

Pass a bungalow at *Sennaar*, and come too at the village of *Bar*, about four koss farther, where, as there are Mussulmen inhabitants, many articles of consumption are procurable. The water about *Bar* is shallow, and the current rather strong.

About six miles from *Bar* is an indigo factory. Pass *Bidapore*.

From *Bar* to *Patna* is full twenty-four hours.

From *Patna* to *Dinapore* about eight hours.

At *Seerpoor*, a little beyond *Dinapore*, the boat's crew lay in a stock of rice for the remainder of the voyage.

Pass the *Soane River*, which is famous for beautiful pebbles and fine clear water, to *Cheraigne*, *Wilton Gunge*, and *Chuprah*.

From *Chuprah* to *Revel Gunge* is three koss and a half, a good legowing place.

Pass the mouth of the *Derwah River*, and reach *Berhanpore Ghaut* by sun-set.

Pass the village of *Berreah*, and come too for the night at a small place on the right, about two koss beyond it.

About eleven o'clock the next morning pass *Bulleah* and reach the fort of *Buxar* in the evening. At *Buxar* it is necessary to wait on the commanding officer.

Pass the *Caramnassa River* to the village of *Chowra*.

From *Chowra* you proceed to *Arampore*, and from *Arampore* to *Ghazipore*, which is a large military station. Report your arrival to the commanding officer.

From *Ghazipore* you come to *Zemineah*, *Chursapore*, and to an indigo factory at *Danapoora*, in twelve hours.

From *Danapoora* you may reach *Sidepoor* in seven hours; to the end of the *Goomty*, (or winding river,) in two hours more: *Kytce*, in one hour; and *Kataroury*, in two hours. This place is a koss and a half (about three miles) from *Bulwar Ghaut*.

Move next morning at six o'clock, you will pass *Bulwar Ghaut* about nine; a small brick town named *Kylee*, about two; and reach *Radge Ghaut*, at *Benares*, in the evening, in good time to legow.

From *Benares* to opposite little *Mursapore* takes about three hours fair tracking; and to the cantonment at *Sultanpore*, (or *chutah Calcutta*,) nine hours more.

From *Sultanpore* to the fort at *Chunar*, six hours.

From *Chunar* to *Badsulah*, (on the other side the river,) ten hours.

From *Badsulah* to *Kutchwah Ghaut*, six hours.

From *Kutchwah Ghaut* to *Mirzapore*, seven hours.

From *Mirzapore* to *Jehangeerabad*, three hours.

From *Jehangeerabad* to *Bahaderpoorah*, five hours and a half.

From *Bahaderpoorah* to *Charracoar*, five hours.

From *Charracoar* to *Diggah*, (distant only ten koss in a straight line *Mirzapore*,) five hours.

From *Diggah* to *Barrarie*, seven hours.

From *Barrarie* to *Tellah*, four hours.

From *Tellah* to *Sersah*, ten hours.

From *Sersah* to *Dumdumaye*, three hours.

From *Dumdumaye* to *Derah*, twelve hours.

From *Derah* to the fort at *Allahabad*, seven or eight hours, if the wind is not against you, and the water calm; but the stream in this part is very strong, and the river in many places very shallow; it is therefore advisable to land on the *Junna* side of the fort, and proceeding across the promontory in a palankeen, sending the boats round to a place called *Taylor Gunge*, which will take them nearly a day to accomplish. At *Allahabad* supplies of every description may be procured. Here it is necessary to wait upon the commanding officer in the fort, and report your name, rank, and destination.

From *Taylor Gunge* to *Ramohoredah*, (ten koss by land from *Allahabad*,) will take ten hours.

From *Ramohoredah* to *Jehanabad*, three hours.

From *Jehanabad* to *Acharpore*, four hours.

From *Acharpore* to *Konkerabad*, six hours and a half.

From *Konkerabad* to *Shaw Zadabad*, four hours.

From *Shaw Zadabad* to *Kurrah*, three hours. Muslin and cloth of the coarser kinds are manufactured here.

From *Kurrah* to *Mannickpore*, three hours and a half.

From *Mannickpore* to *Kerah Nugger*, six hours.

From *Kerah Nugger* to *Bunderpoor*, one hour and a half.

From *Bunderpoor* to *Nobusta Ghaut*, five hours and a half.

From *Nobusta* to *Ochree*, six hours and a half.

From *Ochree* to *Dalmow* the river is particularly shallow, and abounds in quick-sands; it is therefore almost impossible to say how long a budgerow will take tracking it, as the dandies are obliged to walk the greatest part of the distance up to their waists in water, and are frequently detained to push the boat off a sand-bank. If no such impediment should occur, the usual time is about eight hours.

From *Dalmow* you pass the villages of *Kutterah*, *Garassen*, and *Singpore*, on the left; while on the right hand those of *Kosroopore*, *Hajipore*, and *Adempore*. Reach *Rowaadpore* from *Dalmow* in twelve hours.

Rowaadpore to *Buxar* and *Doreah Kerah*, in seven hours.

Doreah Kerah to *Sooragepore*, three hours.

Sooragepore to *Nuseeb Ghur*, ten hours. At the latter is a large brick house built by General Martine, a Frenchman. He had another large house at *Lucknow*, and a fine estate near it called *Lac Peery*, which means a

thousand trees.* On this spot he erected a superb palace and tomb: the latter he soon after occupied. He was a man of low origin, great abilities, and made immense sums of money by various speculations. He came to India an adventurer, was formerly a general in the Mahratta service, but latterly a general merchant. His character was most eccentric; he caused two centinels of wood, the height and size of men, dressed in the uniform of a British artilleryman, to be placed on either side his tomb, where a lamp is kept constantly burning. He has directed by his will that the house at *Lac Perry* should be at the service of any European gentleman, or lady, to reside in for *one* month at a time, but no longer. It is in charge of the officer commanding at Lucknow. A large sum of money is also bequeathed to his native city of Lyons, in France. The origin of this man's fortune is said to have been collecting dead leaves, and selling them to the natives for fuel.

From *Nuseeb Ghur* to *Madarpore*, seven hours.

Madarpore to *Jaugemow*, three hours.

Jaugemow to the east end of *Cawnpore*, five hours.

Cawnpore is the largest military station, and depot in the upper provinces, or indeed on this side of India. It is six miles in extent, and contains excellent accommodation for ten thousand troops.

From *Cawnpore* to *Betoor* takes twelve hours. This place is a station for civilians, who manage the revenue and judicial departments at *Cawnpore*, from which it is distant about twelve *koss*. It is celebrated by the Hindoos as one of their most ancient places of worship, and is therefore resorted to, at particular seasons of the year, by an immense concourse of people, who line the banks of the Ganges for many miles.

From *Betoor* to the village of *Dyepore* is about twelve hours. Here is a bungalow and an indigo factory.

Dyepore to the entrance of the *Ram Gunga* river, is twelve hours.

To *Singerampore*, twelve more.

Singerampore to *Fully Ghur*, twelve hours—that is, from sun-rise to sun-set.

From *Fully Ghur* it is about twenty days' tracking to *Ghur Moktasir Ghaut*, (the nearest point at which a boat can approach *Meerat*.) Pass many small villages, but no place worthy notice until you reach the large brick town of *Kurrah*, about the second or third day from *Fully Ghur*.

Remember to lay in a stock of supplies for one month before you leave *Fully Ghur*, as nothing more can be got until you arrive at *Meerat*.

From *Kurrah*, two or three hours brings you to *Sooragapore*, a small Hindoo village.

Sooragapore to *Budrowlee*, eight hours. This is capital legowing ground, except that the banks are low, and a number of alligators are generally to be

**(Sic. in MS. Ed. B. P. & P.)*

A GUIDE UP THE RIVER GANGES.

seen upon them; a great variety of waterfowl frequent also this part of the river, particularly wild geese, in such flights as often to darken the atmosphere.

From *Budrowlee* you pass an uninteresting country to *Olyc Ghaut*, and from thence to *Heronpore*.

From *Heronpore* to *Kirkawara*, near which place much wheat is cultivated.

Kirkawara to *Ram Ghaut*, where there is a superb palace built by the *Rajah* of *Jyepoor*. Hindoos flock here in great numbers at stated periods of the year to make offerings to the Ganges, and perform ablutions. *Ram Ghaut* was formerly the resort of *Scindia* and the *Mahratta* chiefs. The palace is built upon a rising ground, about a hundred yards from the shore: it fronts the river—is surrounded by lofty trees. At the bottom of the garden is a flight of stone steps, upon an extensive scale, leading into the river. The town appears flourishing, and is built down to the water's edge.

A number of projecting banks impede the progress of the navigator until he reaches *Anopsheer*, which is considered about half way between *Fully Ghur* and *Meerut*.

The shores now assume a more pleasing prospect: luxuriant pasture, with numerous herds of cattle feeding on it, relieves the eye; and the adjacent country appears well wooded.

The village of *Ahar* contains some good brick houses, and a handsome Ghaut; but the river near it is very shallow.

At *Bussy Gusserat*, the next place of any consequence, there is capital legowing ground; and farther on, a village called *Sukerah Telah*, a great mart for trade.

To *Sukerah Telah* succeeds the village of *Poote*, where some Hindoo places of worship render the scene peculiarly picturesque. The most striking feature is a spacious flight of stone steps, highly ornamented, and shaded by trees down a sloping bank to the water's edge.

From this place to *Ghur Mektasir Ghaut*, is not more than a day's tracking.

Meerut lies about forty miles inland from *Ghur Mektasir Ghaut*.

From "A Tour through the Upper Provinces of Hindostan comprising a period between the year 1804 and 1814": by A. D. [Ann Deane], pp. 267-186.

London C. and J. Rivington, 1823.

H. E. Stapleton's list of Tombs of Historic Interest in Dacca Cemetery.

MAY 1924.

1. Major Gen. Hamilton Vetch, Bengal Army, June 11, 1865 (P. W. D. No. 3).
2. Penelope wife of William Keats, D. I. G. Hospitals, Dec. 4, 1868 (P. W. D. No. 8).
3. H. H. Morris, I.C.S., Killed by fall from his horse, Jan. 3, 1868 (P. W. D. No. 10).
4. Capt. G. Wise, Zemindar and indigo planter, Jan. 30, 1856 (P. W. D. No. 45).
5. J. H. Wright, Madras Staff Corps: Exec. Engr. Dacca Divn. and W. H. Lyttelton W. his infant son, Aug. 24, 1863 (P. W. D. No. 48).
6. Col. W. H. Thomson, C.B., Bengal, N. I., May 18, 1858 (P. W. D. No. 53).
7. H. Clark, M.A., Bengal Civil Service, Jun. 20, 1870 (P. W. D. No. 58).
8. Capt. E. G. Stone, Bengal Staff Corps, Nov. 5, 1864 (P. W. D. No. 75).
9. Lt. W. A. Castle, Adj. 38th Regt., N. I., Nov. 16, 1852 (P. W. D. No. 84).
10. A. D. Coull, Secretary, Dacca Bank, Oct. 29, 1852 (P. W. D. No. 85).
11. Lt. R. Travers, Adj., Kamroop Regt. of Infantry, Apr. 1, 1860 (P. W. D. No. 90).
12. Capt. C. Scott, 27th Regt., N. I., May 3, 1847 (P. W. D. No. 93).
13. A. Simpson, M.D., Civil Surgeon of Dacca, Nov. 14, 1864 (P. W. D. No. 112).
14. Capt. C. J. Harrison, Sub. Asst. Commissary Genl., Dec. 6, 1848 (P. W. D. No. 113).
15. Lt. J. J. Macdonell, Adj., 74th Regt., N.I., Aug. 2, 1857 (P. W. D. No. 115).
16. Lt. H. Mainwaring, late 3rd Regt., N. I., Jul. 22, 1807 (P. W. D. No. 119).
17. Christopher Roberts, 3rd Judge of Appeal and Circuit, Dacca, May 4, 1806, (P. W. D. No. 121).
18. Mutiny Memorial: 5 able Seamen and one Gunner: Killed at attack on Lal Bagh, Nov. 22, 1857 (P. W. D. No. 130A).
19. Capt. E. B. Pryce, Oct. 24, 1825 (P. W. D. No. 137).
20. W. Lance, B.C.S., Collector of Land Revenue, Aug. 11, 1822 (P. W. D. No. 138).
21. C. Taylor, Sen. Merchant, H.E.I.C.S., Jan. 29, 1797 (P. W. D. No. 139).
22. Capt. R. Maxwell, Comdg. 35th Battn., N. I., Oct. 28, 1792 (P. W. D. No. 142).

23. J. Patterson, Commercial Resident, and his infant son, May 22, 1817, Mar. 26, 1817 (P. W. D. No. 147).
24. R. Lindsay, Factor, H.E.I.C.S., Dec. 18, 1778 (P. W. D. No. 150).
25. Ensign G. Middleton, Oct. 17, 1789 (P. W. D. No. 151).
26. Francis Law, Commercial Resident, Sep. 22, 1792 (P. W. D. No. 155).
27. Col. W. Burton, Dacca Provl. Battn., Nov. 26, 1817 (P. W. D. No. 157).
28. Mrs. C. Burton, wife of Maj. W. Burton, Jul. 11, 1809 (P. W. D. No. 158).
29. Mrs. C. G. Cooper, wife of Capt. H. E. G. Cooper, Bengal, N. I., Jun. 11, 1811 (P. W. D. No. 160).
30. Francis Wm. Ulric Gladwin, 13th N. I. (son of Francis Gladwin), Aug. 27, 1822 (P. W. D. No. 161).
31. S. Bayard, C. S., Member, Circuit & Appeal Ct., May 9, 1801 (P. W. D. No. 166).
32. Mrs. E. L. Robinson, wife of W. Robinson, Inspr. of Schools, N. Bengal and Assam, Sep. 5, 1859 (P. W. D. No. 169).
33. Shearman Bird, Jr. H.E.I.C.S., Oct. 4, 1824 (P. W. D. No. 177).
34. H. Holland, H.E.I.C.S., Apr. 16, 1800 (P. W. D. No. 191).
35. S. Macan, Judge and Magte. of Benares, Jun. 6, 1808 (P. W. D. No. 197).
36. Jane dau. of James & Jane Renell, Jul. 29, 1774 (P. W. D. No. 209).
37. H. W. Money, H.E.I.C.S., Aug. 4, 1825 (P. W. D. No. 212).
38. J. Drew, Collr. of Land Rev. and Customs, Jan. 29, 1829 (P. W. D. No. 214).
39. C. H. Wintour, Capt., N. I., Sep. 13, 1834 (P. W. D. No. 222).
40. Col. W. Bydell, comdg. Dacca Prov. Battn., June 5, 1819 (P. W. D. No. 223).
41. J. Hollow, Zemindar, May 3, 1834 (P. W. D. No. 227).
42. Lt. Col. W. H. Cooper, C.B., May 8, 1822 (P. W. D. No. 237).
43. N. Clerembault, Chief of English Factory (Tablet affixed in Colombo Sahib's tomb), Nov. 16, 1753 (P. W. D. No. 247).
44. Thomas Feake, Chief of Dacca, Oct. 1, 1750 (P. W. D. No. 248).
45. Rev. Joseph Paget (Protected mont.), Mar. 26, 1724 (P. W. D. No. 249).
46. Colombo Sahib (date given in P. W. D. List), (1728), (P. W. D. No. 254).
47. J. D. Patterson, Judge and Magte. of Dacca, May 27, 1809 (P. W. D. No. 268).
48. D. Lankheet, Chief for Hon'ble Dutch Co., Dacca, May 1, 1775 (P. W. D. No. 269).
49. W. Shewen, late 3rd of Council at this Factory, Sep. 14, 1766, R. Shewen, his wife, also their infant son Arthur, Jan. 7, 1766 (P. W. D. No. 275).
50. A. C. Lankheet, wife of D. Lankheet, Jul. 10, 1768 (P. W. D. No. 277).
51. W. Kerkman, Chief of Dutch Co., Dacca, Apr. 13, 1774 (P. W. D. No. 278).
52. Mrs. Eliza Holwell (no tablet tomb), 1746 (P. W. D. No. 285).

53. J. Mills, Assistant Surgeon, Oct. 16, 1773 (P. W. D. No. 291).
54. C. Watkins, Writer, H.E.I.C.S., Jun. 25, 1726 (P. W. D. No. 293).
55. Lt. Col. T. C. Watson, 53rd Regt., N. I., Apr. 30, 1834 (P. W. D. No. 297).
56. W. A. C. Plowden, B.C.S. (died at Noacolly), Aug. 22, 1817 (P. W. D. No. 298).
57. Nathaniel Hall, Factor, H.E.I.C.S., Sept. 13, 1725 (P. W. D. No. 303).
58. E. Craufurd, wife of R. Craufurd, Jun. 22, 1776 (P. W. D. No. 306).
59. R. Crauford, Factor, H.E.I.C.S. (a double tomb), Aug. 22, 1776 (P. W. D. No. 307).
60. Ensign C. P. Clay, N. I., Nov. 14, 1841 (P. W. D. No. 334).
61. R. B. Duncan, Surgeon, N. I., Oct. 17, 1843 (P. W. D. No. 335).
62. P. W. Pechell, H.E.I.C.S., Judge of Provl. Cts. of Appeal and Circuit, Dacca, May 25, 1821 (P. W. D. No. 343).
63. Elizabeth, wife of Major R. Blackall, N. I., Jan. 2, 1835 (P. W. D. No. 348).
64. C. J. Davidson, B.C.S., Apr. 1, 1839 (P. W. D. No. 349).
65. Brig. Gen. J. H. Dunkin, H. M. 44th Regt. (Endowed), Nov. 11, 1825 (P. W. D. No. 362).
66. Eliza, wife of F. Law, H.E.I.C.S., Judge of Provl. Courts of Appeal & Circuit, Nov. 21, 1827 (P. W. D. No. 364).
67. Matthew Law, H.E.I.C.S., Mar. 3, 1830 (P. W. D. No. 371).
68. Ensign F. A. Gaskoin, N. I., Oct. 2, 1846 (P. W. D. No. 372).
69. R. Doucett, Zemindar, Oct. 10, 1848 (P. W. D. No. 393).
70. Rev. C. F. Supper, Baptist Missionary, Oct. 2, 1871 (P. W. D. No. 400).
71. A. Abercrombie, B.C.S., Dec. 30, 1873 (P. W. D. No. 407).
72. W. F. Campbell, Agent Tipperah Raj, Aug. 9, 1874 (P. W. D. No. 410).
73. R. D. Nuthall, Supdt. Elephant Kheddahs, Oct. 22, 1878 (P. W. D. No. 416).
74. Rev. B. D. Behr., Chaplain, Dacca, Jan. 4, 1881 (P. W. D. No. 420).
75. C. K. Hudson, manager for Inglis and Co., Sylhet; formerly Political Agent, Cossya and Jyntia Hills, Sep. 7, 1881 (P. W. D. No. 428).
76. John Boxwell, C.S., Commissioner of Dacca (Inscription in Latin), 1891 (P. W. D. No. 448).
77. T. L. L. Jenkins, I.C.S. (endowed), Jul. 20, 1894 (P. W. D. No. 453).
78. W. Tutin, Surgeon, Bengal Establishment, Dec. 5, 1815 (P. W. D. No. 246).
79. Sarah Pott, relict of Robert Percival Pott 1807 (P. W. D. No. 140).
80. Agnes, infant dau. of D. R. Lyall, I.C.S., 1868 (close to No. 85).
81. Infant dau. of Arthur Littledale, B.C.S. (aft. Judge of Arrah: one of garrison in 1857 close to No. 254).
82. "My X Esenby", Dec. 25, 1789 (P. W. D. No. 144).
83. Wonsi Quan: erected by his friend Wong. Chow, 1796 (P. W. D. No. 148).



CAPT. ARCHIBALD SWINTON, HIS WIFE AND SON

The Journals of Archibald Swinton.

BY SIR EVAN COTTON, C.I.E.

IN the highly appreciative review of the Calcutta Historical Society and its work, which appeared in "The Times Literary Supplement" for September 18, 1924 (1), mention was made of the memoirs of Captain Archibald Swinton, which were privately printed in 1908 by Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Campbell Swinton of Kimmerghame (in Berwickshire). I have been able through the kindness of Captain G. S. C. Swinton, L.C.C., to obtain a copy of the volume and have received permission to make extracts. Captain Swinton is the grandson of John Swinton, the eldest son of Archibald Swinton.

The year of Archibald Swinton's birth is given as 1731. He was the fourth son of John Swinton of Swinton in Peebles-shire by Mary Semple, and had eleven brothers and sisters. After studying surgery at Edinburgh, he engaged at the age of twenty as surgeon's mate on an East Indiaman. The journey from Edinburgh to London by road took him ten days—from December 11 to December 20, 1751. On Wednesday, January 8, 1752, he "fell down the river" and eight days later sailed from the Downs. On March 29 the ship touched at the Cape. The voyage was resumed on April 10, and Madras Roads were reached on June 10. Six weeks after he went ashore he volunteered to join Clive who was undertaking the campaign in the Carnatic which was signalized by the taking of Arcot and Conjeveram. There was, writes Swinton, "a great Tomashy on my apprenticeship being ended".

On August 28, 1752, Clive left Fort Saint George with his little force of 200 Europeans, 300 sepoys, and eight officers, of whom six had never before been in action, and captured Arcot three days later. Subsequent events are thus recorded by Swinton in his journal:—

25th January, 1753	...	Went to Arcot.
21st April	...	Wounded.
14th July, 1754	...	Went from Arcot to Madrass.
22nd July	...	Went from Madras to Chingleput.
20th October	...	Rode from Chingleput to Madrass, [a distance of sixty miles] in the space of 4 hours and gained 2,600 rupees.
3rd November, 1755	...	Left Chingleput, and quitted the Company's Service.
8th March, 1756	...	Was again engaged in ye service.
15th March	...	Imbarked for the Negrais and arrived 12th August.

Ships had been despatched from Madras to the assistance of the little English Settlement on Negrais island at the extreme south end of Arakan, which had been established about the year 1751. The kingdom of Ava, of which the place formed a part, was in dispute between the "Peguers" and the Burmans. The English had sided first with the one and then with the other. A powerful Burmese fleet was now assembled on the coast, and this was attacked by the English ships which forced the crews to take refuge in the groves on shore. Some days later ammunition was exhausted and the English, with their French allies and the "Peguers," retired to Syriam, six miles East of Rangoon, at the junction of the Pegu and Rangoon rivers, where there was also an English factory (2). Negotiations followed, and battles by land and skirmishes by sea. There was a massacre of the English factors at Negrais (3), the survivors swimming wounded to the ships; and the English fleet sailed up the river towards Ava, only to be seized there. It is uncertain how long Swinton, who was serving as surgeon's mate or surgeon, remained to take part in these events: but it would appear that he accompanied Lieutenant Lister on a mission to Ava in July, 1757, for he preserved a manuscript account of the expedition, written by Lister.

In 1759 he was on board the *Hardwicke* Indiaman, when she anchored on October 6 in the road of Ganjam, in the Northern Circars (4). France and England being at war, the Captain hoisted Dutch colours, and with a pretended tale of want of provisions slipped up under the French Fort. They received by a catamaran a note from Monsieur Moraçin, the commandant, demanding the name of the ship and whence she came. In reply, Captain Brook Samson sent a letter in which he says:—"As I have now obtained all the intelligence I think necessary (pardon therefore the means used for it), it is needless further to conceal what I really am, and for what purpose I come. Know then that the ship is the English *Hardwick*, that

(2) Cf. the petition presented by Edward Fleetwood to the King of Burmah at Ava in 1695 (quoted in Dalrymple's *Oriental Repository*, 2 vols. 4to, 1808). The prayer is made therein "that the old House and Ground at Syriam, formerly belonging to the English Company, may still be continued to them." In 1727 Alexander Hamilton describes "the Bar of Syriam" as "the only port now open for Trade in all the Pegu Dominions." Ralph Fitch visited Syriam, which he calls Cirion, in 1587, and Father Andrew Boves, S. J., in 1600. Very little is known of the history of this English factory.

(3) Cf. Letter of February 19, 1763, in the Fort William Consultations: "It gives us pleasure to observe that the King of the Burmahs, who caused our people at Negrais to be so cruelly massacred, is since dead, and succeeded by his son, who seems to be of a more friendly and humane disposition."

(4) The *Hardwicke*, with three other Indiaman, the *Hchester*, the *Thames*, and the *Worcester*, sailed from the mouth of the Hooghly for the Northern Circars on October, 5, 1758 with Colonel Francis Forde and a detachment of troops on board; and reached Vizagapatam on October 20. Confans the French General, was defeated on December 7 at the battle of Condore (or Peddapore), and Rajahmundry was occupied on December 8. Thirty seamen from the *Hardwicke* took part in the capture of Masulipatam which fell on April 7, 1759, after twenty-nine days' siege. Swinton must have participated in these operations but there is no mention of them in the papers.

about a month ago, Colonel Clive received a letter from Narraindoo (5) by a Harker (6) informing him of your being in the country, and proposing if he would send a party of Sepoys and Europeans down to Ganjam he would join them to his forces and cut off your party. The troops I have aboard with an answer to Narraindoo but am willing before going to extremities to put it in your power to give a termination to our Expedition, more agreeable to you as well as to us."

An amicable arrangement not having been effected, a Harker with a letter and one sepoy was sent to Narraindoo, "the Native Power", and Swinton went ashore in the jolly boat to take soundings. The letter, of which there is a copy in the Swinton papers, says that the ship "was sent from Bengal by Colonel Clive," and asks Narraindoo to "concert measures to ridd us both of our common enemy". Narraindoo answers: "We have seen your ship eight days, and knew not it was English. We understood from Calcutta that your ship was to be sent, and are overjoyed to see you. If you will send some Europeans and sepoy and four guns ashore, we will immediately engage the enemy".

Next evening Swinton went ashore again about nine o'clock and was conducted to a village about five miles distant, where he stayed until the Rajah should be informed of his arrival. The messenger returned about three in the morning with a horse and palanquin, which the Rajah had sent together with an escort of one hundred Sepoys, requesting that he would set out immediately, and he would come to meet him. Swinton set out accordingly and met the Rajah, before daybreak, near the camp of "Pallar his Dewanzer" (7) which "is about five miles from the above village, his own camp being about three miles beyond that." The Rajah received him with great civility; earnestly pressed him to bring ashore some troops to his assistance, and offered him the command of his army. Swinton spent the day in reconnoitring the Fort, and inspecting the Rajah's troops. There were only fifty Sepoys and fifteen volunteers aboard the *Hardwicke* besides the ship's crew.

The Rajah proceeded to surround the fort, so that the French could not go beyond a radius of two miles. Those on the ship, meanwhile, began to grow anxious, as the following record will show:—

[October] 13th.—No appearance of Mr. Swinton.

14th.—Heard a report of three or four guns, and soon after observed a body of horse and some foot on the top of a hill near the Fort. Could distinguish Mr. Swinton by his red cloaths. As we imagined, the Rajah or some of his great people were with him. Mr. Samson saluted him with eleven guns, and sent his boat ashore. Mr. Swinton returned in her about three in the afternoon.

(5) Anandraz, the Rajah of Vizianagram: "the worst enemy of the French in the Chicacole Circar" (Maltby's Ganjam District Manual, 1882).

(6) Hirkarrah, hurkaru: messenger.

(7) Query: dewanji. The transcription is defective.

15th.—A letter came from the Rajah asking Mr. Swinton to come ashore to determine what to do. Mr. Swinton, and Mr. Samson went ashore. The Rajah offered, if Colonel Clive would make an alliance with him, he would deliver up Ganjam, Calingapatam, Maphisbunder, and Sunapore (8), but after Mr. Swinton spends all night reconnoitring the Fort, Mr. Samson comes to the conclusion we have not enough men to attack it, so wrote accordingly to the Rajah; promises to acquaint Colonel Clive with the situation, and says he was obliged to sail for Calcutta, and he sends a Harcar to Colonel Ford letting him know how affairs are.

News had been received of trouble with the Dutch, and the *Hardwicke* made all possible speed for the Hooghly. Swinton preserved among his papers the following account of the events which led to Ford's victory on November 25, 1759, at Biderra or Badara, a village midway between Chandernagore and Chinsurah. Although the name of the battle is almost forgotten, it deserves to be reckoned among the decisive battles of British Indian history, for it eliminated the Dutch as a factor in "country" politics. Forde and Randfurlie Knox had arrived in Bengal before Swinton, fresh from the defeat of Conflans at Condore (December 7, 1758) and the capture of Rajahmundry and Masulipatam (December 8, 1758, and April 8, 1759).

NARRATIVE OF THE DISPUTES SUBSISTING BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH IN BENGAL IN NOVEMBER 1759.

"Early in August we received advice that a powerful Armament was fitting out and embarking. Destined as was rumour'd for Bengal. On representation of this by the Governor the Nabob sent a Perwannah to the Dutch prohibiting them from bringing Troops into Bengal. Soon after one of their ships arrived in the River with European Troops & Buggosis (9) on board. On this the Nabob sent a second Perwannah & order'd Omar Beg Cawn, Fouzder of Houghly, to join the Govr. with a body of Troops. Early in October the Nabob Jaffier Aly Cawn arrived at Calcutta on a visit to the Govr. During his stay six or seven more Dutch capital ships crammed with soldiers and baggage arrived in the river and now the Dutch mask fell off. The Nabob left Calcutta the 19th October. We as Allies of the Nabob and under his colours, had on the arrival of the first ship stopt & searched their Boats coming up the River & finding

(8) *Maphisbunder* or *Mahfuzbandar*, is the Muhammadan name for the town of Chicacole, in the Ganjam district.

Sunapore, or Sonapore, is a port in the Ganjam district, fourteen miles south of Berhampore. It was in 1768 the principal shipping place of the Ichapur province: but is now of little or no importance.

(9) *Buggosis*, *buggoses*, or *bugis*—sepoys recruited in the islands of the Malay Archipelago: orig. the name of a tribe in Celebes.

18 Buggoses conceal'd in one of them, sent them back to their ships. Now the Dutch themselves openly commenced Hostilities by attacking with shott and seizing seven of our vessels (amongst which was the *Leopard* snow, Capt. Barclay) & tore down our colors. On this we concluded with the greatest probability that the Dutch had received intelligence of a Rupture between them and us in Europe, or that they were sure of the Nabob's joining them, or of his standing neuter at least. Wrote to the Nabob that now we considered the quarrel as subsisting between the Dutch and us *only* desired that he would leave chastising them to us, and Desist from sending his son, or any part of his Army to our assistance.

"Our whole force then consisted of 240 Europeans of the Battalion (of whom.....were Topazes) about 80 of the Train & 1,200 Sepoys, besides.....Militia &Gentlemen volunteers form'd into an independent Company (10).

"On the 19th Novr. Col. Ford march'd to the Northward; with part of these & cross'd the Ganges above Barnagore, Capt. Knox being at Tanna's Fort & Channoc's Battery with the remainder, and a few of Omar Beg's Troops. Mr. Holwell was order'd to take charge of Fort William with the Militia, consisting of 250 Europeans besides some of the Portuguese inhabitants.

"Col. Ford cross'd over the River Ganges to Syrapore a Danish Factory with his Troops and four pieces of Field Artillery & marched towards Chandernagore.

"On the 22nd Novr. the Dutch landed about 700 Europs. & 800 Buggoses. Capt. Knox and the Parties at the Batteries were immediately order'd to join Col. Ford which they did at midnight near Syrapore.

"On the 23rd Orders were sent to our Commodore, Captain Wilson, to demand immediate restitution of our ships, Subjects and property or to fight, sink, burn & destroy the Dutch ships on their refusal; the next day the demand was made and refused. True British spirit was manifested on this occasion, notwithstanding the inequality, the Dutch having seven to three (and four of them capital ships), we attacked them and after about two hours engagement the Dutch Commodore struck & the rest followed the example, except his Second who cut & ran down as low as Culpee when she was stopped short by the *Oxford* & *Royal George* which arrived two days before and had our orders to join the other Captains. The Dutch Comr. had about 30 men killed and as many wounded, she suffer'd the most amongst them, as did the *Duke of Dorset* on our side, who was more immediately engaged with her.

"On the same day, the 24th, Col. Ford march'd from the French Gardens to the Northward intending to encamp between Chandernagore & Chinsura. In his march thro' the former he was attack'd by the Dutch with four pieces of cannon & the Garrison from Chinsura which had march'd out & lodged themselves in the houses & ruins of Chandernagore at the very time the Colonel entered with his Troops at the Southernmost

(10) All these figures are left unfilled in the MS.

end (N. B.—Spears brought the alarm to Ghyratty). However he soon dislodged them from their Ambush, took their cannon & pursued them with some slaughter to the very barriers of Chinsura—then encamp'd on the Glacis of Chandernagore, and having certain intelligence in the night of the near approach of the Dutch Troops from the ships (11) who had been in spite of his vigilance join'd by part of the Garrison from Chinsura, he march'd at break of day about 7 o'clock (after causing the men to load and fix their bayonets on the parade) with two field pieces and (in less than half an hour) met them in full march for Chinsura, which was little more than two miles distant. We immediately filed to the fight & they to the left & form'd our lines within 70 yards of each other; in a very few minutes we were both form'd and came to action.

"The Dutch were commanded by Col. Roussel, a French soldier of fortune. They consisted of nearly 700 Europeans and as many Buggoses, besides country troops. Ours of 240 Infantry (.....of which Topazes), 80 of the Train and 50 more Europeans composing the Troop of Horse, independents & Volunteers, & about 800 Sepoys. The engagement was short, bloody, and decisive; the Dutch were put to a total Rout in less than half an hour. They had about 120 Europeans and 200 buggoses taken prisoner with Monsiur Roussel and 14 officers and about 100 Buggoses kill'd 350 Europeans & about 150 wounded; our loss inconsiderable. The Dutch were now as abject in their submissions as they had been insolent on their supposed superiority. They disavowed the proceedings of their ships below, acknowledged themselves the aggressors, & agreed to pay costs and damages, on which their ships were delivered up to them.

"Three days after the Battle of Bederra the young Nabob with about 6 or 7,000 horse arrived. Thus ended an affair which had the event been different threatened us in its consequences with utter destruction, for had the Dutch gained the same advantage over us, we have now the most convincing Proofs to conclude the remembrance of Amboyna (12) would have been lost in their treatment of this Colony.

"Mr. Bisdorn was in a dying condition during the whole transaction, and opposed jointly with Messrs. Quidland and Bacheracht the violence of their proceedings, but they were over ruled by the rest of their Council,

(11) "On the same evening Forde learned that the Dutch army would come up with him in the morning and wrote to Clive for instructions, being apprehensive of prosecuting hostilities against a nation with which England was at peace, and whose force was superior to his own. Clive, who had already taken his resolution and was prepared to assume responsibility for it, was playing whist when the letter reached him. He put down his cards and without leaving the table wrote on the back of the letter: 'Dear Forde.—Fight them immediately I will send you the order in Council to-morrow'. Then, collecting his cards again, he went on with the game". Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, Vol. II, p. 470. The Europeans with Forde were the precursors of the 1st Bengal Europeans who later became the 101st Foot and the 1st battalion of the Royal Munster Fusiliers.

(12) The reference is to the massacre of Amboyna in 1636, when a number of Englishmen and Japanese were cruelly tortured to death by the Dutch. It was not until thirty—one year later that Cromwell was able to exact an indemnity.

led by Messrs Vernet and Schivehaven, two men of desperate fortunes and violent and evil principles, who we doubt not pay severely for their impudence."

* * * * *

Swinton had by this time returned to military service and had been appointed an ensign in the Company's army. He must have been at Biderra, for a fragment of his journal has survived which commences on December 27, 1759, a month after the battle, and which shows that he was then with Forde and Knox at the beginning of their campaign against the Shahzada Shah Alam. On January 9, 1760 Major Caillaud (13) took over the command at "Ghysabad" above Cossimbazar and the army marched forward until February 11, when it "passed Baglypore" (Bhaugulpur) and received the news from Patna of Ram Narayan's victory over the Shahzada. On February 18 a halt was made at Barh, where another messenger from Patna reported that the Shahzada was encamped at "Raunah Seray". The camp was attacked on February 22, with complete success, the action lasting from "12 a.m. till 3" and 17 pieces of cannon were taken. Caillaud pursued his journey to Patna where he arrived on February 26.

The entries in the journal continue to give details of marches and counter-marches until July 29, 1760, when Swinton and the rest of the force find themselves once more at Patna. Major John Carnac (14) now assumed the command, Caillaud reverting to Madras. A gap follows until November 1760, and the journal is not resumed until the following November (1761). But there is an account by Swinton himself of the "battle of Gaiah" which was fought on January 15, 1761, and another by Lieut. Gilbert Ironside (15) in the form of a letter written on loose sheets of paper.

* * * * *

(13) Caillaud returned to England in 1767 and died in 1812. Cf. *Gentleman's Magazine*: "Deaths.—1812 December 27: At Aston-house—Oxon. in his 88th year General John Caillaud of the East India Service. An indulgent husband, sincere friend, and pious Christian. His loss will be severely felt by the poor in that neighbourhood for his benevolence."

(14) Carnac entered the Company's service in 1758 as a Captain from Adlercron's regiment (the 39th Foot) and accompanied Clive to England in 1767. He returned to India as member of Council at Bombay in 1776, but was dismissed the service in 1779 for his share in the convention of Wargaum and died at Mangalore on November 9, 1800, at the age of 84. There is a characteristic allusion to him by Clive in the Fort William consultations for January 29, 1786; "I perfectly well remember having said that it would not be amiss for General Carnac to have a man with a Goglet of water ready to pour on his head, whenever he should begin to grow warm in debate." Reynolds' portrait of his second wife, Eliza Rivett, is in the Tate Gallery.

(15) *Gilbert Ironside*—cadet 1758: Ensign December 14, 1758: Lieutenant September 19, 1759: Captain October 13, 1763: Major May 1, 1766: Lieutenant—Colonel April 2, 1768: Colonel September 12, 1774. He married Laetitia Roberts in Calcutta on May 13, 1765. Grand in his *Narrative* describes him as "the celebrated martinet". In a letter dated November 7, 1779, "camp at Dalmow", Brigadier Giles Stibbert reports that Major William Hessman has been killed in a duel by Colonel Gilbert Ironside. In 1764 Ironside raised at Calcutta the 14th Bengal Infantry which was known after him as the Ransett-ki-pultan. He communicated to the Asiatic Annual Register in 1800 an account of the campaigns of 1760 and 1761.

ARCHIBALD SWINTON'S ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF GAIAH.

Major Carnac, as soon as he took command of the Army at Patna, marched in quest of the Shah Zadah, whose Army had wintered in the heart of the Baher province unmolested. He came up with him on the 15th of January 1761, and gained a complete victory without the least assistance from Cossim Ali Cawn, the new Nabob. On the contrary, his forces, astonished and discontented at the revolution, at first refused to march from Patna, but finding Major Carnac was determined to act against the Shah Zadah independently of them, they followed him reluctantly, but never were of the least utility to him in the Action, and he had more to dread from their treachery—they being in his rear—than from the enemy he was about to engage. The happy success attending this enterprize kept them to their duty, and was the means of establishing the tranquillity of the three provinces.

Mr. Law, with most of his party of Frenchmen, were taken prisoners, and the Shah Zadah was so closely pursued that he found himself reduced to the necessity either of abandoning his Army and quitting the Provinces with a few followers, or of trusting to the Major's generosity by putting himself in his power. He chose to risk the latter, and desired that a gentleman might be sent to inform him in what manner he would be treated. The Major was pleased to send me, and according to my instructions, I assured his Majesty that he might depend on being received and entertained with all possible deference and respect, and that the Major would consider his life and honour as his own. On these assurances he determined to submit to the Major, and taking a moderate but splendid retinue with him, ordered me to conduct him to the English camp. So extraordinary a sight as the Emperor of Hindostan (16), for he was even then universally considered as such, throwing himself upon the protection of an English Army with whom he had but a few days before engaged in the field, filled the breast of every one with such admiration and delight that I am persuaded there was not a private soldier or sepoy in our Army who would not have risked his life in his defence, and fought for him with more zeal and fidelity than his own troops.

Major Carnac, whose heart is all sensibility, received him in the kindest and most respectful manner, and could hardly refrain from tears. Nazars were presented to him by the General and other officers, and after a short visit he returned highly pleased to his own Army, which was but a few miles off.

Next day both Armies marched near each other, as was concerted, towards Patna.

(16) Gauhar Ali succeeded as nominal emperor under the title of Shah Alam the Second on the murder in 1759, of his father Alamgir the Second. He was blinded in 1788 by the Rohilla freebooter Ghulam Kadir, and died in 1806, at the age of 78. Throughout almost the whole of his reign he was a mere puppet of the Mahrattas. When Lake entered Delhi in 1803 he found him "seated in rags under a tattered canopy, the sole remnant of his former state and surrounded by every external token of misery"

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF GAIAH, (BEING A LETTER FROM LIEUTENANT GILBERT IRONSIDE).

" Sir,—

" The last time I had the honour of addressing you was from this place, under date the 20th December, wherein I mentioned the respectful liberty I should take to trouble you with another letter if anything material occurred before the departure of the latter ships.

" This short interval has produced indeed a series of events the most fortunate that could happen for the affairs of India, the two principal points in view, the possession of Pondicherry, and the reduction of the Shahzadah being happily accomplished.

" Our Army in Bengal, from many obstacles on the part of the Nabob's troops, were prevented taking the fields until the beginning of the year, for it was a long time before Major Carnac could prevail on so many unpaid, and for that reason dissatisfied people, to remove themselves from Patna and follow him, and to leave them there was to abandon the city to that danger which threatened from their known disaffection.

" However the day at length arrived when we met the enemy, who appeared on the 15th of January on the banks of the Swan [Sone], a river about 10 coss W. of Bahar. Under cover of the cannon we immediately crossed, and without any opposition, for the enemy, retired to the distant shelter of some banks and ditches, left a free passage, and thus lost the fairest occasion they could meet with to take us at a disadvantage while our troops were divided by the water. When the guns' ammunition had passed the river, we hastened to drive them from their intrenchment. On our approach they instantly abandoned it and retreated to another, equally tenable with the former, had they been resolute to defend it, but this too they quitted, as we advanced, were dispossessed also from a third, before they made a stand and drew up some order upon a large plain. We still kept moving towards them, cannonading as we marched, and expected the moment their horse could begin the charge, but a lucky ball from a twelve-pounder killing the driver of the elephant on which the Shahzadah was mounted (17), the beast, deprived of his guide, turned about and carried his rider and consequently all his followers with him into the rear. This very much disconcerted them, and the artillery being served very briskly just at that time, they could stand no longer. They all followed their leader and fled in great disorder.

(17) There was found among the belongings of the Shahzadah upon the driverless elephant his Majesty's writing-desk or "Kalamdan." It is an oblong box on a stand or small tray, lacquered, with a gold ground ornamented with the flower called "Hazargula," [more properly *Gul-i-hazara*, double poppy] and contains silver ink-holders, steel penknives with handles of the bone of lion fish, and carved ivory implements and Persian letters gold dusted, etc. The "lucky ball" from the twelve-pounder was fired by Captain Bradbridge, and when it killed the Royal Elephant's driver, his Majesty was forced to dismount, and the desk was taken. Archibald Swinton preserved it, and brought it home with him, and it is now at Kimmerghame. [Note by Mr. J. L. C. Swinton].

" The pursuit continued near three miles, when it being observed that the French brought up their rear, Major Carnac determined to make an effort at them, that at least they might not escape with the rest. The guns were therefore left behind, and two battalions of Seapoys with the Europeans made a push at Mr. Law. They played 6 pieces of small artillery as we advanced, but being levelled too high the balls passed over us. Our soldiers much to their credit passed their guns with shouldered..... The French troops broke and ran away before our Musquetry could reach them, not a shot was fired on our side nor did we lose a single man. Mr. Law with several of his officers and 50 men were then taken (18) and best part of the remainder have surrendered since. The same night the Shahzadah fled beyond Bahar. Having few horse of our own, and the Nabob's as well absolutely refusing to pursue, the Victory was not so decisive as it might have been had the troops done their duty. The Prince easily recollected his scattered forces the next day, but no more respite was given him than was absolutely requisite for the relief of our own people. The Major pressed close upon him the morning after the battle, and a few marches reduced his army (retreating through a country they had before laid waste) to the utmost distress for substinence [sic].

" On the 29th the Prince sent an embassy to know the proposals which would be accepted. The terms insisted on were the instant dismissal of Comda Khan, and confiding for the rest that he would rely upon the honour and good faith of the English nation. During their negotiation our marches were rather quickened than delayed, and this accelerated their resolutions, for the Prince seeing no hopes of protracting the time, complied in a few days with the terms stipulated. Fhousdar Khan was sent away, and the Shahzadah on the 7th of Feby. joined the English camp. On the 10th the Major marched with him towards Patna, where we arrived the and this day the Prince is safely lodged in the Palace of Patna, an event which has terminated the war in these parts. His maintenance is fixed at one thousand Rupees a day defrayed by the Nabob.

" The Fhousdar of Beerboon refusing to acknowledge the present Nabob, Major Yorke marched with a detachment against him, drove him [from] his capital into the hills, and appointed another to govern this district in his stead.

" Captain White being sent with a body of 80 Europeans, 2 guns, and 300 Seapoys to quell some disturbances in Berdaowan [Burdwan], was fallen upon by the Rajah of that place, whom he defeated, and entered the town. He was afterwards ordered to join Major Yorke at Beerboon, but when he approached he found his communication with the Major's party cut off by 8 or 10,000 Marrattas. He fought them, repulsed their repeated

(18) Jean Law of Lauriston was the nephew of Law of Mississippi Company fame, and was chief of the French factory at Saidabad, when Suraj-ud-daula captured the British residency at Cossimbazar in 1756. He withdrew to Patna in April 1757 and after Plassey joined the Shahzada. Carnac sent him to Calcutta and he left India in 1762. For an account of his Odyssey up-country, see Mr. S. C. Hill's *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*.

attacks, destroyed a great number of them, and at last took possession of a post which he maintained for a long time, but in the end would have been worsted for want of ammunition when Major Yorke, who was luckily near enough to hear the firing, made a forced march to his relief, upon which the Marrattas dispersed and fled the province. These strokes have entirely cleared the countries belonging to the Company of all their enemies, and there seems from our late success and present strength to be a fair prospect of a long and settled peace.

"A violent storm blew lately off Madrass. Two Men-of-War of the line foundered in it. Most of the men as is reported lost. Two ran ashore, one since got off, five were dismasted otherwise damaged, but are again partly refitted, and only wait for some masts to get off, the Men-of-War lately arrived from England to be completely so (19).

"Pondickering (20) fell the 16th of January, yielded at discretion for want of provisions. Colonel Coote would not grant them no other terms than the whole garrison surrendering prisoners of war. He took possession the same day of the Niller gate (21) and the day following that of the Citadel.

"Colonel Coote is expected in Bengal with his regiment by the latter end of next month. We shall then have a very considerable force here, either to defend the country or to support the title of the Shahzadah as was lately thought of to the...

"It is a very sensible satisfaction to the people on this side the world that they have not themselves ... while their country were so well employed in Europe, and that everything has been done which was left to do.

"The Mauritius and the island will we hope be the conquest of the Fleet.

"Permit me, Sir, to congratulate you on these many and signal success of the British arms, and once more to subscribe myself

"Your very obliged

"And obedient Servant

GILBERT IRONSIDE.

In the spring of 1763 Swinton was placed in command of an expedition to Meckley which he describes as "a hilly country, bounded on the north south and west by large tracts of Cookie Mountains and on the East by

(19) Coote writes to Fort Saint George on January 3, 1761: "Three ships have foundered: four large ships are entirely dismasted." Admiral Stevens in his flagship stood out early to sea: he was joined by Admiral Cornish with his division: and "we had by the 15th eleven sail of the line".

(20) *Sic*. Pondicherry is intended. Lally retreated thither after the battle of Wandiwash. The siege began in May 1760. General Sir O'Moore Creagh in his *Autobiography* (p. 3) mentions that no less than five Creaghs were among the "French" prisoners.

(21) Unintelligible as it stands. But there is a map of 1760 in Col. Wyll's *Life of Sir Eyre Coote* which shows the gates of the town, and two of these are the Villenour and Valdour gates. "Niller" is obviously an error in transcription for "Villenour" or "Villenore".

the Burampoota, beyond the hills to the north by Assam, to the west Cashai (22) to the south and East Burmah." Meckley was then part of the kingdom of Ava, and Swinton tells us that "there is no intercourse between Meckley and China, if they want to send a letter they cross the Burrampoota, put the letter in a bamboo which they hang to the end of another bamboo, and stick it in the ground on the Burmah side." The expedition was the outcome of a letter dated September 19, 1762, from Harry Verelst, chief at Chittagong to Henry Vansittart Governor of Fort William which was considered by the Board on October 4 (23). The Board decided that the opportunity was a favourable one for contracting an alliance with the Meckley Rajah, and resolved to "detach six companies of Sepoys, four from hence (Calcutta) and two to be draughted from Capt. Grant's Battalion at Chittagong under the Command of Lieutenant Archibald Swinton, with two other officers, Lieutenant John Stables (24) and Ensign Scotland, to fix a post at Moneypoor and make themselves acquainted with the strength and disposition of the Burmahs and the situation of their country". Mention is made by Swinton of 100 Frenchmen and 30 Englishmen who were kept prisoners by the Burmans and compelled to fight for them: but the Board's orders were precise that the mission was "on no account to commence hostilities against the Burmahs". Verelst from Chittagong was authorized to accompany the troops.

Swinton himself set out on May 21, 1763, but seems to have gone no further than Sylhet, for he notes in his journal that on June 29, he "set out from Silett about nine". He had learned of the new troubles which had broken out in Bengal, owing to the disputes which had arisen between the Company and Mir Kasim whom they had placed upon the musnud at Moorshedabad: and, as the Council afterwards wrote in a general letter, "on being ordered to return to Dacca he contributed greatly by his activity and bravery to recovering the Factory and reduction of the City (25). From thence he made the greatest expedition to join the Army".

(22) Cashay or Cassay—its name given to Manipur: Burmese Kase (pronounced Kathe). Cf. Major Michael Symes' "Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava in the year 1795": "All the troopers in the King's service are native of Cassey who are much better horsemen than the Burmans". Meckley—is another name applied to Manipur. But from the boundaries given Swinton seems to be referring to the modern Sylhet and Cachar.

(23) See Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali's "Notes on the Early History of Manipur" (*Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, pp. 134 to 139; I. H. R. C. progs. Vol. V, pp. 119-27) in which details are given of the political situation in Manipur at the time.

(24) Afterwards in the Civil Service and Member of Council at Fort William from November 1782 to November 1787.

(25) Cf. the "Short sketch of the Troubles in Bengal to ye 28 July, 1763" in the Powis MSS. quoted by Forrest in his *Life of Clive* (Vol. II, p. 238): "Dacca Factory was attacked, but there being a Considerable Number of Sepoys it was defended: however on the Enemy's retiring the Gentlemen finding their Ammunition run short and apprehending a second attack, thought it best to retire to Luckypore when being joined by Captain Grant from Chittagong and Lieutenant Swinton with a Detachment from the Eastward they returned to Dacca and retook the Factory and took possession of the city and districts but both city and Factory had been plundered".

He left Dacca on August 4, 1763, and was rowed usually from 4 a.m. till 6 p.m. every day until the 17th, when he landed and immediately marched, reaching the Army on the 19th. It was under the command of Major Thomas Adams who had been ordered to proceed to Moorshedabad upon the receipt in Calcutta of the news of the murder of Peter Amyatt on the river off Cossimbazar. Three unsuccessful attempts were made to interrupt his march but he had taken possession of the city and also of the factory at Cossimbazar, which had been plundered, and had proclaimed Meer Jaffier once more as Nawab. On July 28 he had set out from Moorshedabad. After an action at Sooti, about half way between that place and Rajmehal, he had reached Udwanala, about five miles to the south of Rajmehal, on August 11 and was surrounding the enemy who had intrenched themselves there.

The Enemy had strongly fortified this post. It was protected on one side by the Mountains and on the other side by the Ganges, and they had thrown up a great work and mounted a hundred pieces of cannon, having in front a deep ditch 54 feet wide, and full of water in every part. The breadth of ground which the English had for carrying on their approaches did not exceed 200 yards, and lay between the swamp and the river, they therefore laid siege instead of attacking, from the 21st of August till the 4th of September 1763, when the commander, tired of this slow procedure, resolved to attack on the side of the Mountains. He sent Major Towin with a chosen body of Europeans and Sepoys and carried the entrenchments, when incredible slaughter and confusion ensued, and the rout of the Indians was total.

Colonel Malleeson has described this forgotten battle as "one of the most glorious, one of the most daring and most successful feats of arms ever achieved". The force opposed to the English was directed by Meer Kasim himself, and consisted of 40,000 to 60,000 men, of whom 12,000 were horsemen. Adams' little army was composed of above 400 men of His Majesty's 84th Regiment, 350 men of the Bengal European Regiment (including the French Company) 150 European Cavalry, 120 European artillery men and about 4,000 sepoys. No less than 100 guns were mounted on the breastworks, and among Meer Kasim's generals were the renegade Reinhardt (otherwise known as Somebre) and the Armenians Markar and Arratoon. Had it not been for Adams, the siege would have been abandoned in despair (26).

Monghyr next surrendered to the English after nine days' siege in open trenches, during which Swinton was severely wounded in the left arm. Mir Kasim retreated to Patna, taking a number of English prisoners with him. William Ellis, the chief of Patna, was hot tempered and indiscreet,

(26) The Burial Registers preserved at St. John's Church, Calcutta, show that Major Thomas Adams was buried on January 12, 1764. There is no monument to his memory and no trace of his grave can be found. No mention is made in Dr. Vincent Smith's Oxford History of India either of Adams or of his victory at Udwanala.

and had brought matters to a crisis by attempting to seize the City. The attack which was made on the morning of June 25, was successful: but as the result of a counter-attack, the English were obliged to return to the Factory, whence they retreated across the river. They marched as far as Chapra but were compelled to retrace their steps, and were taken prisoners. Swinton has preserved three accounts of the events which followed, and which culminated in the massacres of October 6 and 11, 1763. The narratives of Dr. Anderson and Dr. Fullerton have been reproduced in "The Diaries of the Three Surgeons of Patna", published by the Calcutta Historical Society in 1909 (27). The third relates the story of the attack on the city on June 25, and the evacuation and subsequent wanderings and return to Patna. It is written by Ensign Hugh M'Kay who was later on among the victims of Sumroo.

Upon hearing the news, Major Adams marched with the main body of his army without delay from Monghyr to Patna. The Enemy made sallies with vigour and spirit and blew up a principal magazine, but the English cannons destroyed the defences and silenced the guns. A breach was made and the city was taken on November 6, 1763, after eight days' siege. Swinton who was in the advanced post, was so severely wounded as to necessitate the loss of his right arm. His brother, Lord Swinton, preserved a copy of the following extract from a letter written by John Johnstone from Fort William to his brother, George Johnstone (28) in London.

It is with particular pleasure I can inform you of the high dessert and exploits of Captains Irving and Swinton; none stands higher in the lists of fame or in the good opinion and regard of all that know them.

"Next to those who are dead, we cannot enough mourn for the hard lot of worthy Swinton who was wounded in the left hand at the Siege of Mongheer, and in the right of that of Patna, in a

(27) Dr. Anderson's diary was also printed by Mr. Henry Beveridge in the *Calcutta Review* of October 1884. It is among the Hastings MSS. in the British Museum.

(28) George Johnstone (1730-1787) was the fourth son of Sir James Johnstone, Bart. of Westerhall, Dumfriesshire. He entered the Navy and in 1765 was appointed Governor of West Florida: hence his appellation of "Governor Johnstone." In 1767 he returned to England and entered the House of Commons in 1768 as member for Cockermouth. He was given command in 1781 of a squadron to operate in the East Indies against the Bailli de Suffren. In January 1784 he was elected a Director of the East India Company in succession to Sir Henry Fletcher, and held office until April 1786, having previously been an influential member of the Court of Proprietors and a strong opponent of Clive. In the same year (1784) he became M.P. for Ilchester. Two of his brothers were in the Company's Service in Bengal. Patrick Johnstone came out in 1734 and perished in the Black Hole. John Johnstone arrived in 1751 and was made prisoner at Dacca during the "troubles". He fought at Plassey and in the Northern Circars under Forde: and was sent in 1765 to Moorsshedabad at the head of a commission to instal Nujm-ud-daula as Nawab Nazim, when he received a "present" of Rs. 2,37,000. Governor's Johnstone's son George arrived in Bengal as a writer in 1780 and in 1787 was appointed to be first assistant to the Resident at Lucknow. He figures as "Mr. Johnson" in Zollany's picture of "Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match". Resigning in 1797, he became M.P. for Hedon in Yorkshire in 1802. See "The Story of James Paull" in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 72 Seqq.

sally. It has been obliged to be cut off since above the elbow, and his life saved with much difficulty. He thinks to return to England this season.

After the fall of Patna, Meer Kasim took refuge with the Nawab of Oudh, who received him but declined to admit his army. The British forces were encamped on the frontier: and were soon occupied with troubles of their own. Among Swinton's papers is the following

“ ACCOUNT OF THE DESERTION OF THE EUROPEANS BELONG-
ING TO THE HONOURABLE UNITED COMPANY IN
BENGAL, FEBRUARY 12TH 1764.

The Army lay at Sant (29) under the command of Capt. Jennings before mentioned, a considerable time without anything remarkable only exersizing the Great Guns and small arms, and sending letters backwards and forwards to the King of Dillee, and Shuja Dowlah, until the 9th day of February, in the Morning, when the Battalion being ordered out to exersize, & the Adjutant, Mr. James Forster, come upon the Parade, he gave the Word of Command—“ Rest your firelocks,” but not a man made any motion; upon which he gave the word again, but not a man would stir. He then ordered them to the “ Right about,” but they would not do that neither upon which he asked them their Grevance, but not a man spoake; whereupon Capt. Forster sent to Capt. Jennings, who came, and after a great many promises that if any one would turn out and tell their Grevance, that he should not be hurt, one of them stept out, and on being asked, he told them that the Prize money was Promised to be paid to them sevl times but never was, and that they heard that Major Carnac had stopped payment in Calcutta. Whereupon Captns. Jennings & Forster told them that it would be pd in a few Days, and that concerning Major Carnac was all false, they then went to the Right about, lodged their Arms and went to their Tents, and all was very quiet, till the 11th, then about 8 o'clock the camp was alarmed by the Drums beating of the General, and all the Men Turning out in a confused order, the Troopers began to Saddle their horses, but Lt. Geo. Bolton Eyres, who commanded the horse then in Camp, Draw'd his sword upon one Symmons, Camp Colour man, upon which they Run to the Bell Tent, took up their Arms and Joined the Battalion on foot. Captn. Jennings thought to suppress the Mutiny by seessing the Ring Leader and confining him, but here he was Mistaken for 8 or 10 fixed their Bayonets, and if he had not run for it would certainly have took his life. They then proceeded to Appoint Officers, such as One Collenol and Two Majors, and one Jack Straw, a Desperate sort of a fellow, was made Adjutant, and sent a party of men to the Right to Secure the Park, & all the Lascars & Bollocks that they could find, and likewise one to the left, for the same Purpose, and a Party was sent along with the Troopers to gett their horses, whilse a party went with Captn. Stables to the Nabob, with one

(29) Sawath, on the banks of the river Durgauti, on the Grand Trunk Road between Sasaram and Moghal Sarai.

who could speak the tongue, who told them that he would give them a lack of Rupees Directly, and one more in two hours time, and likewise a Bill upon Patna for two lack more. In the mean-time all the officers was collecting all the Money they could, and brought it, and laid it before them on the Parade, But all this would not satisfy them, for they insisted upon the Immediate Paiment of 500 Rs. each Man, By this time the Troopers joined them, with the aforesaid Mr. Symmons, and the Black Cavalry and Mr. Symmons took command of the whole Cavalry, and the two other Partys also joined them, then they faced to the Right and Marched off with 5 guns towards the Nabob, whose tent they surrounded, and pointed a Gun at it. But recollecting, they faced again and Marched for the Carramnassa, (the Granadiers who in the first Mutiny where [sic] sent to join the Advanced party of Seapoys who lay at the Carramnassa, were upon the Braking out of the Mutiny a-fresh, sent for and returned a different road to what the Battalion went, which was the reason of their missing them) giving out that they were going to fetch the Granadiers, but when they came to a Crick which lay in their way, they left the Guns for want of Bullocks, which were presently brought back, they then proceeded on to the Carramnassa, and the Officers followed beging of them to return, which several of the English Did, beginning to find out the Design of the Foreigners (30). The Foreigners proceeding on their March to the Carramnassa where most of the Seapoys that was there, join'd and went with them a-cross the Carramnassa River, and proceeded for Benares, by this Time Most of them Returned, as likewise the Seapoys, but the Frenchmen still march'd on till about 12 o'clock at night, when they halted and appointed Mr. De-Le-Mar (formerly sargant of the French Company in his Majesty's 84th Regt.) Commander in Chief. Then they sett forward again and arrived at Benares. Capt. Jennings & the Nabob sent Harcarars, to the Raja of Banaras to stop the Deserters, which he said he would, but on the Contrary supplied them with a thousand Rupees, and Boats to cross them over the River, which they Did and joined Cossum Alley Cawn & Somro and Collenol De le mar sent a letter to Capt. Jennings, in which he said that they had always behaved like good soldiers, all the Campaign, they had been used ill, and was always put upon, and that they had this Design in hand a great wile before, but could never find an opportunity till this June of getting away, and that as they was frenchmen we should always find them as good frenchmen still.

A list of the Europeans who Desserted, 12th February 1764, from the European Battalion:—

Non. Com. and Private	154
From the First Troop of European Cavalry	9
From the Second Troop of European Cavalry	7

Total Europeans 170

(30) One of the four French Companies, which was commanded by Claud Martin, stood firm. There were also some Dutchmen and Germans.

From the different Battalions of Seapoys with Europe Arms, two hundred, and with much difficulty were cept from firing; had one firelock gone off by accident or other wise it would certainly been the destruction of the whole Army and the loss of almost, if not quite all, the Europeans & the total loss of Bengall, but God who foresees all things ordered it other wise ”.

Accompanying this account is the following letter from “ James Logan to James Campbell ”.

Feb. 13, 1764.

Dear Jamie,

Pray why so long silent, do you return or do you go home? What are you doing or what are you about to do? It would be kind but to let us know ... you wrong me if you think your concerns of such moment are indifferent to me. I assure you I think myself interested in them, and I imagine your sentiments with regard to mine are the same.

Here is the Devil to pay, and no Pitch Hot about the Bill money, the day before yesterday almost the whole Europeans took up arms and demanded the payment of the Prise money immediately, they appointed a Colonell and 2 Majors to command them, the former of whom with a body guard to attend him, went with Capt. Stables to the Nabob who proposed sending immediately to Patna for 2 lack of rupees to give them, but they would not wait nor would they accept of 30,000 Rupees which the officers collected and offered them upon the Parade, but since they would not have their prise money said they would go join Cassim Ali-con, accordingly they seized 5 pieces of cannon, mounted all the troop horses & marched off in regular order. Part of the Mogul Horse brought up their rear and forced along many Europeans who were unwilling to go, they soon left the guns and marched on with them in good order towards the Caremnassa which they crossed and encamped 3 coss beyond it that night, the greatest part of Stibbert's Battalion of Seapoys which was at the Caremnassa joined them and crossed it with them, but they almost all returned as well as the Europeans who are all come back except about 200 who were almost all Foreigners that are gone for good. Serjeant Delamare, late of the Regiment, is their commander in Chief. All the Europeans now in Camp have received 40 Rs. a man, and are contented, but to-day Swinton's, Smith's and Gaillases Battalions took up arms and were going to follow the Deserters but I hear they've all returned, but on what terms I don't yet know, being her[e] a coss from Camp with the Hospital. which I have had the care of for this month past.

Now the above is all the news (& a damned deal too I think) pray let me have but half as much from you in return.

I have not yet received the money of Captain Nolleking, pray deliver the enclosed Belt to Godard and receive the money if he intends to pay

it, he has used me damned [ill?] already in not paying it. I wrote him since he has been in Calcutta about it, he has not deigned me an answer. Pray write me soon, and

Believe me to be,

Dear Campbell,

Yours sincerely,

JAS. LOGAN.

Mahuneah [Maner],

Feby. 13th, 1764.

* * * * *

13/03.

This mutiny was soon followed by another. When the "prize money" (which had been given by Mir Jaffir) did arrive it was distributed by Captain Jennings in such a manner that the Europeans received six times as much as the sepoys. These promptly mutinied in their turn, and further concessions were necessary in order to appease them (31).

Major Carnac arrived to take command in March 1764. The Army was short of provisions, and the troops still discontented about their pay. Carnac retreated to Patna and camped under the walls of the city. Colonel (after General) Richard Smith now takes up the story in a letter to Orme, of which Swinton appears to have obtained a copy (32):

* * * * *

The Vizier crossed the Carumnassa with the most formidable army that any Nabob has commanded for many years [and]...surrounded Patna & our intrenchments. Armed Boats on the Ganges saved our Army from famine. It was very much apprehended that Sujah Dowlah would detach a considerable Corps from before Patna to possess even Muxadavad—but fortunately for us the retreat of our Army had elated him beyond measure. On the 3rd May 1764 he made a general attack upon all our intrenchments. Carnac wisely stood upon the defensive, and the Moors were at every post repulsed with loss. (But remark the effect of Party rage. Carnac was blamed at Calcutta for not following the Blow, by marching directly to attack the enemy, although his Troops had been under arms Twenty six hours, & engaged almost half the time with the Enemy). The Vizier remained some days longer in the vicinity of Patna & the rainy season approaching, he crossed the Carumnassa and wintered in his own Dominions. Major Carnac in the ensuing Month having had notice of his Dismission from the Service, before the public advices arrived, quitted the command of he army, and a detachment of Highlanders, being arrived from Bombay commanded by

(31) In a letter addressed to Lord Clive on September 9, 1765, by Ralph Leycester, James Graham and George Vansittart, "Agents for the Squadron" (Pub. Dept. Progs. Sept. 9, 1765) a reference will be found to the grant by Meer Jaffir of a donation of Rs. 1,25,000 to the squadron for their services in the war against Meer Cossim. This was the "Navy donation." Complaint is made that "not a single rupee has been received."

(32) Swinton met General Richard Smith at Buxton in September 1792 and writes to his son John that "He and I are acquaintances of forty years standing, having arrived in India, I believe, in the same week".

Major Munro of the 89th regiment; these were sent to reinforce our Army, & before the Season for Action Major Munro arrived at Patna in the character of Commander in Chief (33). When the rainy season was past we took the field, & crossed the Sohn. In October the Vizier's army was assembled and marched towards us. Towards the end of the month (34) we fought the battle of Buxar, and gained a very complete Victory. In very few days after this our Army took possession of Benares. Sir Robert Fletcher arrived in Camp second in Command. The season approached when His Majesty's troops must either remain another year or proceed to Calcutta for embarkation. The Shahzada or more properly the King came, once more, under our protection. Some overtures were made by Sumroo, & the Corps of Frenchmen as Preliminaries; either he had too much Honour, or he did not suppose his Situation quite desperate. We were too much elated by success to recede. The *Success* Transport arrived with advice of the change of the Administration of Indian affairs, in Europe. The Packet not being addressed to Vansittart, he declined opening it until he was prevailed on by his Council, & would have quitted his Government but for their Solicitations. The Brigadier's Commission for Carnac hastened Major Munro's return. He left the Command of the Army to Sir Robert Fletcher, who you know is naturally of a military turn & fond of Exploits. He did not totally approve of our inactivity after the Battle of Buxar, he was therefore determined to make the best use of his interval of Command, and marched towards Ilhiabad (35) the Capital. Chinargur, a fort of importance, after two unsuccessful attacks on our part was abandoned by the enemy [Feb. 11, 1765] Sujah Dowlah attended the Army with a Body of six or seven thousand Horse skirmishing often, but never venturing near enough to engage. We took possession of the Capital without any material loss; after a very short siege it capitulated. In January [1765] General Carnac posted to Camp to command the Army once more; in the same Month Mr. Vansittart sailed for Europe, leaving Spenser in the Government. In February Jaffier Allee Cawn died; his eldest natural Son he very earnestly recommended to be his Successor. The *Lapwing* was arrived from Europe with certain intelligence of Lord Clive's coming out, and had moreover brought out the Covenants regarding Present—more of this hereafter. Sujah Dowlah driven from his Capital endeavoured to form an Alliance, that might reinstate him in his Dominions, & Mulhar Row (36) a Morattoo General, commanding some thousand Horse, he took into his pay, & endeavoured to prevail on the Rohella Chiefs to join him, but without any great effect, tho' he had a very considerable Corps of Pitans, called by us Durunnies. Thus he collected a very numerous Corps of Troops, but by no means equal to the preceding Campaign, for having lost his Field

(33) A third mutiny took place at Manjhi (on the Gogra, west of Chapra) when Munro was ordered to take over command from Carnac. Munro arrived on August 13, 1764 at Chapra and blew 24 of the ringleaders from the guns.

(34) October 23, 1764.

(35) Allahabad.

(36) Malhar Rao Holkar: died 1766 at Alampore.

Artillery in the Action at Buxar he could not repair that misfortune. The General had sent detachments, who took possession of the Cities of Owd & Lucknow, & settled those Provinces, and when he heard that the Vizier had collected something like an Army & intended once more to try his fortune, he marched from Ilhiabad fifty or sixty Coss to meet him—The Morattoes had entered the Provinces by the side of Korah; the General crossed the Ganges to meet them, & on the 3rd May came up with them, they made but an indifferent stand. After this Skirmish Sujah Dowlah separated from them, & the General kept pursuing the Morattoes until he drove them quite over the Jumna, and obliged them to abandon the fort of Calpee, (37) which they possessed on the opposite side within fifty Coss of Agra.

The Vizier's attempt to recover his Dominions was very feeble indeed, and he now was convinced of the impracticability of it. From Military operations he could have no hopes of success. He had seen the very honourable reception we had twice given to his Royal Master, and was determined to try what a Reception he should receive by placing an unlimited confidence in our Honour. He accordingly wrote a letter to the General, and the very next day came into our camp, where he was received with all possible marks of distinction.

He remained with the General till Lord Clive arrived in these parts. On the 31st July, Sujah Dowlah, the General, and myself met his Lordship at Chunderonty, a fort situated on the Ganges, five coss below Benares. From Benares they proceeded to Ilhiabad, to settle all matters with the King and afterwards with Sujah Dowlah.

Swinton was with Carnac, who had written as follows to Spencer, the President at Fort William, on January 26, 1765:

I purpose appointing Captain Swinton my Persian interpreter provisionally, till the Board's pleasure is known, and I request you will procure me the confirmation of that appointment. I will boldly pronounce there is no person at present in Bengal so capable of that Employ, he being as well as any, in the country language, and superior to all, in the knowledge of the manners of the Natives, and how we are to conduct ourselves towards them, for which he is peculiarly qualified, by the mildness and calmness of his temper, besides as we must have much intercourse with the King, he is fittest of anybody to be about him, His Majesty being so much pleased with his behaviour formerly, as to conceive an extreme liking to, and to have an entire confidence in him.

(37) 22nd May. General Carnac thus describes the attack at Calpee in a letter to the Council " In the dead of night, marched up 3 battalions of Sepoys with 2 guns, but our boats being so few (only two) and small not more than half (about 1,100) the Sepoys, with the two guns, could be got over before day appeared. This much was done, however, without the Enemy having the least notice of it, and these Sepoys were so well conducted by Major Jennings, with the assistance of Captain Swinton, as to clear the opposite shore entirely of the enemy, whom I judge to have been from 8 to 10,000 ".

An incomplete manuscript contains Swinton's notes upon the event of the next few weeks:—

* * * * *

Negotiations detained the General some days. He arrived with the King at Allahabad on the 25th [February]. Here he received letters from Binny Bahador (38) Prime Minister to Sujah Dowlah, who rented most part of the Provinces of Oude and Lucknow, offering to submit on certain terms, and bring over great part of Sujah Dowlah's forces, who had at this time left his own country and was gone towards Delhy in order to endeavour to engage some of the other Powers of the Empire into a confederacy in his favour.

The General sent Binny Bahader letters of safe conduct, and assurances of free leave to depart in case they could not come to an agreement, in consequence of which he came in on the 19th March [1765] with a body of about 10,000 men.

21st March.—The General had some days before sent Major Stibbert with the greatest part of the Army towards Oude, the Capital of one of the Provinces about the centre of Sujah Dowlah's dominions, and himself waited B. B's arrival at Allahabad. After his arrival he left the King with part of the Army under the command of Sir R. Fletcher, after concerting with His Majesty in what manner the country ought to be settled, and taking Mongral Dowlah and Shitabroy with him on the part of the King to manage the collections, in case [of] not agreeing with Binny Bahader. He followed the Army with a small escort, taking Rajah B. B. and his troops along with him. B. B's proposals appeared eligible to the King's ministers and to the General, but as he had been in such high favour with Sujah Dowlah, and commanded his Armies against us, the General thought it reasonable we should have some security of his future fidelity, and therefore insisted he should place his Family, which were then at Lucknow, somewhere under our protection and power, either at Patna or Benares. He at last seemed to agree to this, and took leave of the General on the 25th March, under pretence of bringing his Family from Lucknow, leaving almost all this troops behind him. But the fact was, he had private intelligence that Sujah Dowlah having engaged Rae Mulhar to join him, had laid aside his design of going on to Delhi, and purposed to make another effort to recover his Dominion, of which the General didn't receive intelligence till two days after at Oude, when immediately doubting B. B's steadiness, he sent me after him to Lucknow with a party of Mogul Horse and Sepoys.

I marched all night and next day, reached Derriabad about 40 miles from Oude; meeting with opposition here, we attacked and took this Fort.

(38) Rajah Balwant Singh Beni Bahadur who was appointed Naib of Ranipur by Shuja-ud-daulah in 1762. In the year following he commanded four or five thousand of Shuja-ud-Daulah's troops when the Emperor and Shuja-ud-daulah were at Benares planning to invade Behar. Raja Beni Bahadur crossed the Ganges but subsequently thought it prudent not to proceed against the English and went back. When the Emperor and Shuja-ud-Daulah suffered defeat Beni Bahadur conducted negotiations between them and the English.

In proceeding on to Lucknow, which place we reached on the 31st early in the morning, and found that Binny Bahadur.....

* * * * *

The rest is lost. But General Carnac wrote on May 27:, "Hearing that Sujah Dowlah was drawing near, I sent Captain Swinton with Rajah Shitabroy to meet him. He arrived in the evening, on the opposite side of the river, and immediately crost it with his Brother-in-law, Salar Jung (sic) and a very few followers, in order to wait upon me. I received him with all possible marks of distinction, at which he expressed much satisfaction".

That the Vizier entertained a high regard for Swinton is evidenced by the fact that he presented him with his own sword, which is preserved at Kimmerghame. It bears this inscription:—"To Archibald Swinton Rustom Jung Bahadur Captain in the East India Company's Service from Sujah Dowlah Nabob of Oude and Vizier of the Empire of Hindostan".

After the signature of the Treaty of Allahabad in August 1765, Swinton was sent to Dacca to take over the *dewani* from the then Naib Nazim, Jusserat Khan; and the memory of "Sooltin Sahib's" visit still survives (39) This was his last piece of work in India. He retired from the Company's service in October 1765: and sailed for Europe in circumstances which he thus relates:

In the end of the year, 1765, the Emperour Shah Alum requested the English Army to conduct him to Delhi, and assist in placing him on the Throne of his Fathers, but as Lord Clive could not promise him that, he resolved with Ld. Clive's approbation to send a letter to the king of Great Britain to solicit his assistance.

"As I was about to return to Europe, and was well known to the King of Hindostan, the Vizier Monyr al Dowlah requested me to be the bearer of it. This I mentioned to Lord Clive, who readily consented, accordingly on the—[blank]—of Dec. 1765, the letter was delivered to Lord Clive, and the same time put into my hand by his Lordship...He also requested me to carry a munshy to Europe with me in case it should be thought proper to send an answer in the Persian language.

Having obtained Lord Clive's consent, I engaged the Munshy to go to Europe, Monyr al Dowlah, however, insisted on paying 2,000 R. (£250) towards his charges.

Swinton appears not to have quitted India before the middle of January, 1766: for on January 19, he recorded a statement, at the request of Carnac, relative to certain intrigues carried on with Mir Jafar by Nuncomar. He took with him not only the munshi, but also "several large Indian Jars, Indian and Chinese pictures painted on glass, a variety of

(39) Notes on the Antiquities of Dacca by Sayyid Aulad Hasan (Dacca, 1904), quoting from Rahman Ali's *Tarikh-i-Dhaka* MS., p. 81. From 1768 Jusserat Khan administered the province in conjunction with a member of Council representing the Company. On the death of the Nawab the Company assumed sole charge and his five successors held the nominal title of Naib Nazim with a monthly pension of Rs. 6,000.

ivory, silver, and crystal handled arms, jewels and Persian books". The ship rounded the Cape as usual, and proceeded to Nantes, where Swinton landed and remained for sixteen days. He then set out, post, in a carriage for England, leaving the munshi and the baggage to go by sea to Calais, and thence to Dover.

After spending three months in London, Swinton went to Oxford, where he and the Munshy assisted Sir William Jones (who had just been elected to a fellowship at University College) with his Indian and Persian manuscripts. Thence they made their way to Scotland and "alighted at the house of Captain Swinton's father in Edinburgh."

The fame of Swinton accompanied him, for he received the freedom of the city of Glasgow, the burgh of Fortrose, and the Town of Inverness. In 1769 he purchased the estate of Manderston, and added Kimmerghame to it in 1771. He married Henrietta Campbell, daughter of James Campbell of Blythswood, on October 17, 1776. They had six children, three sons and three daughters. John (born 1777) the eldest entered the Army and served in 1799 with the Allies in Holland against the French. James (born 1785) the fifth child obtained a cadetship in the Company's service on the Madras establishment and sailed for India in the *Lady Jane Dundas* on March 20, 1804, reaching Madras on July 18 (40). He was principally employed in surveying but served as a volunteer in Colonel St. Leger's short and successful campaign in Travancore against the rebel dewan Vleu Tampi in March 1809. Subsequently he took the first survey of Palamcottah. He died at Madras on November 2, 1813. The third son and youngest child, Samuel Robert Archibald, (born 1791) went to sea as a midshipman in the Company's service. He made two voyages on board his cousin Captain A. F. W. Swinton's ship, the *Lady Burges* Indiaman. The first was 'n 1804 to Calcutta, where he spent Christmas. Among the passengers was Sir John D'Oyly, the sixth baronet: of whom the boy writes in a letter of August 29, 1804, "off St. Helena, "that" in my life I never saw a person who so much reminds me in every way of that best of Fathers." The ship returned to the Downs on September 9, 1805 and sailed again for "the Bay" from Portsmouth on March 31, 1806: but was wrecked on April 20, 1806. She struck a rock between Sao Jago and Boavista two of the Cape Verde Islands. Thirty-four lives were lost: and among the drowned were three midshipmen, of whom young Swinton was one.

(40) *The Lady Jane Dundas*, together with the *Calcutta* and the *Jane Duchess of Gordon* "parted company from the fleet off the Mauritius" on March 14, 1809, on the homeward voyage, and "was not since heard off". There is an allusion to the tragedy in a letter written to James Swinton by his aunt Mrs. Ferguson on February 3, 1810. Among those on board was General Hay MacDowall, the late commander-in-chief at Madras who had been superseded in connexion with the mutiny of British officers. "What a signal misfortune has attended poor General MacDowall, for we cannot now doubt he has perished in *The Lady Jane Dundas* the very ship that landed you in India ... Many worthy characters are gone: Colonel Orr, his wife and family, and many others. If it is ever decreed that you are to be permitted to come home, be on your guard what ship you come in, see that it has a compliment [sic] of good sailors that are able to contend with storms."

Archibald Swinton did not learn of this disaster. He died at Bath on March 6, 1804, at the age of 74: and was buried in the Abbey Church. A marble oval tablet on the north wall of the chancel testifies that it was "erected by his eldest son, Captain John Swinton of H. M. 91st Regiment, as a small tribute of grateful affection to the beloved and revered memory of the best of Fathers." No allusion is made to Swinton's Indian career in the inscription.

The Indian connexion was continued by the descendants of Archibald Swinton's eldest brother John, a Senator of the College of Justice in Scotland under the title of Lord Swinton. The fifth son of the Judge, George, came out to Bengal as a writer in 1804 and served until 1833. He was appointed Chief Secretary in 1827 and acted as temporary member of Council from March 13 to July 3, 1828. Of his five sons, three entered the Indian army, and the other two the Bengal Civil Service, Alan, (1842-1864, Judge of Gorakhpur, died 1868) and Archibald Adam (1842-1867, Judge of Tipperah, died 1894). William Swinton, another of the sons of Lord Swinton, came out to Bengal as a cadet in 1798 and retired in 1831. His two sons went to Madras as writers. George Melville Swinton served from 1834 to 1853, and died at the Cape in the latter year. Robert Blair Swinton served from 1849 to 1874 and died in 1912. He was the father of Lt. Col. F. E. Swinton, C.I.E., I.M.S., now in Bombay, and Major-General Sir Ernest Swinton, R.E., ("Ole Luk Oie") the present Chichele Professor of Military History at Oxford University.

Mention must also be made of Samuel Swinton, another of the sons of Lord Swinton, who came out to Bengal as a writer in 1794, and retired in 1831. He was Commercial Resident at Atawah (1802) and at Keerpoy and Midnapore (1806-1813): and Senior Member of the Board of Customs Salt and Opium (1819). His daughter Mary was married at St. John's Church, Calcutta, on July 26, 1822, to James Weir Hogg, advocate and Registrar of the Supreme Court, who was a director of the East India Company from 1839 to 1858, twice Chairman (1846 and 1852) and thrice Deputy Chairman (1845, 1850, and 1851) and a member of the Secretary of State's Council from 1858 to 1872.

The portrait of Archibald Swinton which we reproduce is taken from a picture painted in 1787 or 1788 by Naesmith. It hangs at Kimmerghame and represents him on the banks of the Blackadder with his wife and five of their six children, of whom one only (James) is shown in the photograph.

A portrait of Archibald Swinton was also introduced by Benjamin West into his picture of "Shah Alum, the Great Mogul, conveying the Grant of Dewanny of Bengal, Behar and Orissa to Lord Clive in August, 1765". He stands behind General John Carnac whose aide-de-camp and Persian Interpreter he was. This historic event was the outcome of the Treaty of Allahabad, which was concluded on August 16, 1765, between Clive and Carnac, representing the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, and the East India Company, on the one hand, and Shuja-ud-daula, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, on the other. The treaty is written in Persian and English and is witnessed

by Swinton, Edmund Maskelyne (the brother-in-law of Clive) and George Vansittart who was Persian translator. The actual document, which was for some time in the possession of Sir John Kaye, hangs in the reading-room of the India Office Library, and a reproduction of it was given in the *Journal of Indian Art for July 1890* (41). A replica of West's picture which was painted for Clive's son the Earl of Powis, was presented to the East India Company in October, 1820. It stood at the India House in the Finance and Home Committee-room and has now been placed in the Finance Committee Room at the India Office (42). Archibald Swinton's son John must be referring to the original picture which is now in the possession of the Earl of Plymouth (whose family name is Windsor Clive) when he writes to his brother James on April 8, 1804, after his father's death: "I have seen West's painting and he offers to make a portrait from it, but, tho' like, it was done when he was so much younger than we can recollect him that it does not convey the idea of him sufficiently strong to make it desirable."

There is another portrait of Swinton at Kimmerghame. It is by Sir Joshua Reynolds who has painted him in a red coat and epaulettes. A photograph of it may be seen in the offices of Messrs. Burn and Company at Calcutta which were removed this year (1925) from the house in Hastings Street, once inhabited by Warren Hastings (43), to the Hong-kong and Shanghai Bank Buildings at the corner of Council House Street and Dalhousie Square, which occupy the site of the old Calcutta Exchange.

A word may be said here as to the tradition which connects Archibald Swinton with the foundation of the firm of Burn and Company. Mr. C. B. Chartres, one of the present partners, has been good enough to supply the writer with such information as the firm possesses. It is to be feared that it does not lend support to the theory. In a note prepared in 1924 by Mr. W. M. Glover, the chief accountant, the statement is made, upon the authority of a Mr. Aitchison, that the firm was established about the year 1790 by "Colonel Swinton" who, after leaving the Army, went into business in Calcutta as a builder and contractor. Upon his retirement from India he handed over the management to his foreman, John Rolt, who died in Calcutta about the year 1816 in impoverished circumstances due to large advances made to contractors who subsequently failed to carry out the

(41) See also "Relics of the Honourable East India Company" (1909).

(42) A reproduction of the key-plate, which was drawn on stone by J. Baker and printed by J. Redman, was given in *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 23, and also in the Report of the proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission for 1924.

(43) It appears from an entry on June 17, 1779, in the Proceedings of the Board of Inspection at Fort William in Bengal (India Office Records, Home Miscell. Vol. 357) that Warren Hastings presented a minute to the Board, dated the day previous, in which he complained of "the inconveniences which I have hitherto suffered in so circumscribed a habitation as my house in town" and proposed that "the house, the property of the estate of the late Col. Fortnom, be taken for the Company on a lease of one year to commence from the 1st of July at the rent of 1,200 sicca rupees per month for the accommodation of the Governor-General." This is the house now known as 7 Hastings Street which was for so many years occupied by Messrs. Burn and Company.

works entrusted to them (44). If these details are to be accepted, it is clear that Archibald Swinton cannot have been the founder of the firm. He left India in 1766 with the rank of Captain in the Company's service and never revisited the country. Nor will the facts fit his nephew, William, the son of Lord Swinton, regarding whom we have already noted that came out to Bengal as a cadet in 1798 and retired with the rank of Colonel in 1831. Although he can be described with propriety as "Colonel Swinton", the dates of his residence in India put him equally out of Court. It has been suggested that the clue may lie in two elder brothers of Archibald Swinton, Robert and Francis. Both were in the Company's army and both died unmarried. But I have not been able to trace any Francis Swinton on the Bengal establishment: and the Robert Swinton whom I have found served in the Bengal Cavalry from 1794 to 1809, when he resigned, being then a major. The puzzle must be left for solution upon a future occasion.

EVAN COTTON.

(44) Mr. Glover writes: "Mr. Aitchison says that he had this information by hearsay from the late Peter Nichol and from Govinda Baboo, whose source of knowledge was also oral."



ADMIRAL CHARLES WATSON AND HIS SON.
(By the Courtesy of the Manager, "Indian Pictorial Magazine".)

Admiral Watson.

" Exegit monumentum aere perennius ".

THE portrait of Admiral Charles Watson with his son (also named Charles), which we reproduce, is in the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta. It was purchased by Lord Curzon at Christies' in March 1914. The former owner was Sir Alexander Gibbons, Bart., to whom it was given by his cousin Sir Wager Joseph Watson, the direct descendant of the Admiral and the fourth and last baronet, who died in 1904. Thomas Hudson (1701-1779), the painter, was the master of Sir Joshua Reynolds. The boy, who is in oriental dress, was created a baronet in 1760 in recognition of his father's services. The dress and ornaments are still in existence and are still in the possession of the Rev. C. F. Townley, who is a member of the family.

The picture is the only likeness known of Admiral Watson, and it is therefore of the highest historical value and interest. The mezzotint engraving by E. Fisher of which a copy was presented to the Victoria Memorial Hall by the late Mr. C. W. McMinn in 1904, is undoubtedly based upon the painting, but it does not include the whole of it. The figure of the Admiral is three-quarter length only, and the boy is not introduced.

Admiral Watson died in Calcutta on August 16, 1757, and is buried in St. John's Churchyard. The inscription upon his tomb records that he was Vice-Admiral of the White and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Naval Forces in the East Indies. He was the son of a prebendary of Westminster and was born in 1714. In 1728 he entered the Navy as a volunteer on board the *Romney*, and having high influence at the Admiralty passed rapidly through the lower ranks of the Service.

On March 9, 1754 His Majesty's ship *Kent* of sixty-four guns, commissioned by Captain Henry Spoke and flying the flag of Watson, who was then Rear-Admiral of the Blue, sailed from Plymouth with the *Tyger*, the *Salisbury*, and the *Cumberland*, and two other ships which became disabled almost immediately. They carried on board Adlerscron's Regiment of Marines, who were later on to help Clive to win the battle of Plassey, and whose successors, the Thirty Ninth Foot, now the first battalion of the Dorset Regiment, bear on their colours the unique legend "*Primus in Indis*."

The squadron anchored in Bombay harbour on November 11, 1755, and there found Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Clive, who had lately landed on the island with three companies of the King's artillery with the design of co-operating with the Mahrattas against the French in the Carnatic and the Deccan. A truce, however, had just been concluded, and the opportunity was taken to rid the west coast of a neighbouring pirate, Tulaji Angria, whose stronghold Cheriah was captured on February 13, 1756. After

refitting his ships Watson sailed for Fort Saint George and reached Madras Roads at the same time as the news of Siraj-ud-daula's capture of Calcutta. It was at once decided that Watson and Clive should proceed to Bengal. Nearly two months elapsed before anchor was cast at Fulta, where the remnant of the English settlement had taken refuge. The recapture of Fort William and the burning of Hooghly and Bandel followed in quick succession. The arrival from Europe of news that war had been declared against the French afforded a pretext for an attack on the Naboth's vineyard at Chandernagore. Clive marched by land and Watson took his ships up the river (1). Chandernagore surrendered on March 23, 1757, and after being given up to pillage for four days, was razed to the ground as "a laudable revenge" for Lally's destruction of Fort Saint David on the Coromandel coast.

The log of the *Kent* is preserved at the Record Office in Chancery Lane, and a journal of her voyage was published in 1773 by her surgeon, Edward Ives. But Calcutta may see the list of the squadron's achievements in India thus proudly summed up on Watson's tomb: "Geriah taken, February 13th, 1756: Calcutta freed, January 11th, 1757: Chandernagore taken, March 23rd, 1757. Exegit monumentum aere perennius."

These victories were purchased at great cost. Ives, who was in charge of the naval hospital, has testified that one hundred and eighty men, exclusive of casualties, died between Christmas Day, 1756, and November 7, 1757. Among the victims was the gallant Admiral himself. While he was lying ill, his name, as we know, was attached without his consent to the famous Loll Coggedge, or fictitious treaty on red paper, prepared by the orders of Clive for the deception of Omichand, whom his English contemporaries condemned as the chief instigator of the tragedy of the Black Hole. When he was told of the use made of his name, Watson is said to have exclaimed that, as there was so much iniquity among mankind, he did not wish any longer to remain among them.

The capture of Chandernagore, which supplies a striking tribute to Watson's seamanship forms the subject of a large picture in the "Vanguard Room" at Greenwich Hospital. It bears the following inscription upon the frame:

Part of the squadron under the command of Vice-Admiral Watson off Chandernagore. Supporting the land attack by Colonel Clive, 13th February [sic], 1757.

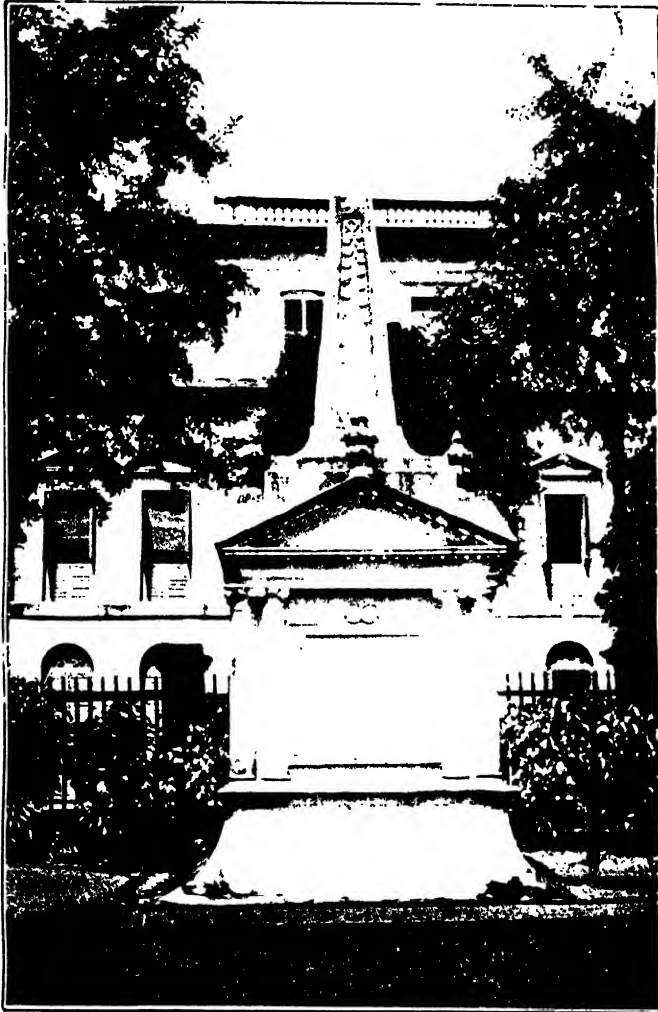
H. M. S. "Kent", 64 guns, Vice-Admiral Watson.

H. M. S. "Cumberland", 70 guns, Rear-Admiral Pocock.

H. M. S. "Tyger", 60 guns, Captain Thomas Latham.

Presented by Mrs. Leedham White, Hewshott House, Liphook, Hants. The name of the artist is not given.

(1) According to some engineering experts, the Hooghly is now a dying river. It shows unmistakable signs of silting up. Near Chinsurah it is possible to walk half across its width during the hot weather months, and at Berhampore it is easily fordable.



TOMB OF ADMIRAL CHARLES WATSON IN
ST. JOHN'S CHURCHYARD.

"Gorlah taken, February 13th, 1756.

Calcutta freed, January 11th, 1757.

Chandernagore taken March 23rd, 1757.

Exegi monumentum ære perennius."

Died August 16th, 1757, in the 44th year of his age.

A monument by Peter Scheemakers, erected by the East India Company in the north transept of Westminster Abbey near the graves of Gladstone, Pitt, Fox, and Grattan, does honour to the memory of the deliverer of Calcutta. His second-in-command and successor Sir George Pocock, afterwards Admiral of the Blue, is commemorated by a marble statue in Roman costume, also executed by Scheemakers, which formerly stood in the General Room at the India House, and is now in the India Office.

[Reproduced by permission, from the "Indian Pictorial Magazine" of November 7, 1925.]

Notes on the Life and Times

OF

Ranjit Singh.

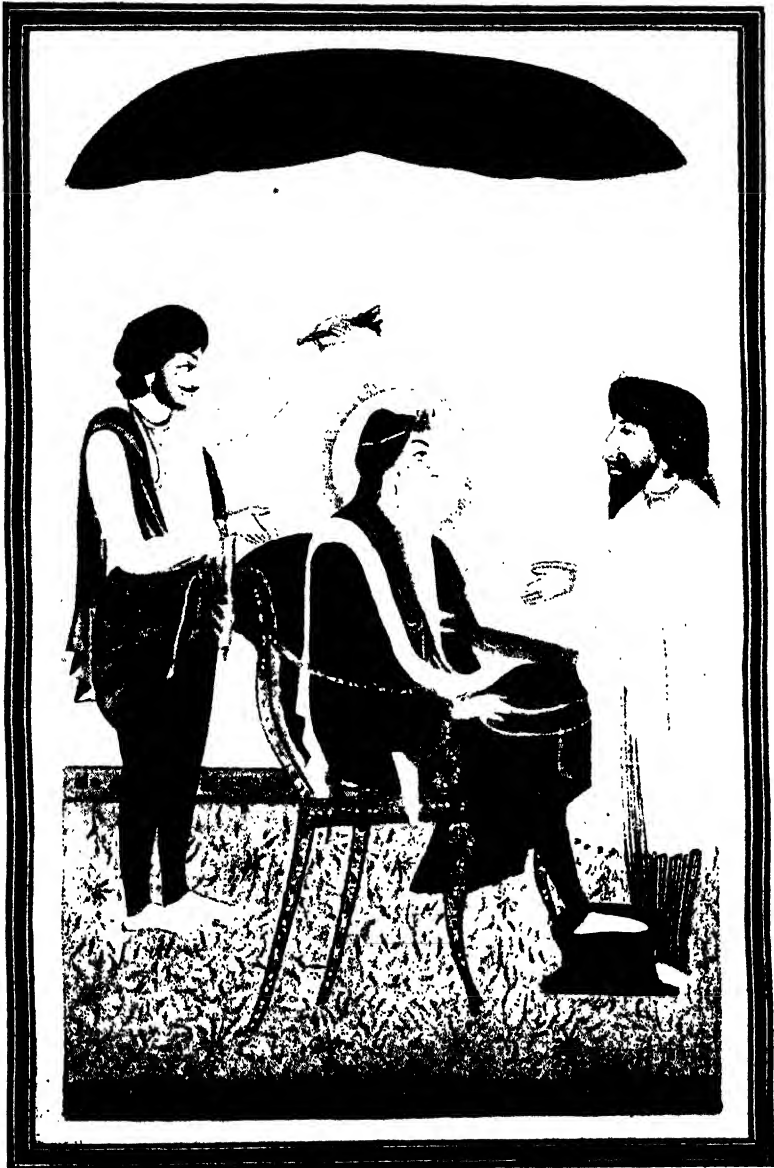
CAPTAIN the Hon'ble W. G. Osborne, Military Secretary to the Earl of Auckland, Governor-General of India (1836-42),* who visited the Court of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Adinanagar in 1838 remarked: "The attention which is bestowed upon Indian politics and history is so rare and superficial, that there are probably many persons to whom the name of Ranjit Singh is sufficiently familiar, who are very imperfectly acquainted with his origin, career and the nation which he ruled." In spite of the march of time and the growing thirst for historical research this observation holds good to-day. This monograph, based as it is, on unpublished records in the archives of the Government of India, should throw a new flood of light on the life and times of the "Lion of the Punjab."

2. There is, perhaps, no more notable and picturesque figure among the Indian Chiefs who rose to power and carved his way to eminence on the ruins of the once great and magnificent Mughal Empire than the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the founder of the Sikh Kingdom of Lahore. In the beginning of the 19th century amidst the fierce conflicts and dissensions of the Sikh Chiefs and *Sirdars* he found his opportunity and seizing it with energy and promptitude welded an unruly and disorganised people into a compact and powerful nation and converted them into a strong military body, "which" according to Hunter "for steadiness and religious fervour has had no parallel since the 'Ironsides' of Oliver Cromwell."

3. The great French traveller Victor Jacquemont, who visited Ranjit Singh's Court at Lahore, remarked: "Ranjit Singh is an extraordinary man—a Bonaparte in miniature." His conversation is like a night-mare. He is almost the first inquisitive Indian I have met and his curiosity balances the apathy of his nation. He has asked me a hundred thousand questions about India, the British, Europe, Bonaparte, this world in general and the next, hell, paradise, God, the devil and a myriad of others of the same kind."

4. Jacquemont's comparison of Ranjit Singh with Napoleon is not as fanciful as it appears. From the records we find that Ranjit Singh and Napoleon Bonaparte compared. Ranjit Singh had many similarities with Napoleon. Ranjit Singh's way of honouring his famous generals, Misser Dewan Chand with the title of "Khair Khwah Ba-safa Zafar Jang Bahadur"

* Capt. Osborne was also the nephew of Lord Auckland (*vide* Sec. O. C. 3rd October 1838 No. 102).



MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH.

Reproduced from a painting in the collection of
Mr. A. Ghosh of Calcutta

and with a *khilat* valued at a lakh of rupees after the fall of Multan in 1818 and Boodh Singh with the honorary dress on the battle-field after his suppression of Syed Ahmed's terrible revolt near Attock early in 1827 (1) greatly resembled Napoleon's way of honouring his famous marshals, Lannes and Davout, after the battle of Montebello and Auerstadt in 1800 and 1806; Ranjit Singh's hazardous expedition in 1822 to the Afghan town of Menkerah (2)—an inhospitable, sandy and cheerless tract between the Indus and the Sutlej—and Napoleon's expeditions to the deserts of Syria and Egypt in 1798 have many features in common; Ranjit Singh's way of encouraging his disheartened troops at the fierce Battle of Nowshera in 1823 "by placing himself at the heat of the battle with a flying standard in hand and uttering fiery words of exhortations" (3) reminds us of the tactics which Napoleon so often display'd in his several battles, notably at Arcola and Lodi in 1796; Ranjit Singh's expedition against the wild and warlike Afghan tribes of the Derbend country (in Baluchistan) after crossing the most dangerous part of the Indus between Ghazi and Tribela in 1825 (4) corresponds in several ways to Napoleon's great expedition against the hardy and impetuous Cossacks of Russia after crossing the Niemen river in 1809; Ranjit Singh's masterly retreat from the Derbend province to Lahore single-handed through hills, mountains and deserts at the astonishing speed of 50 to 60 miles a day after recrossing the Indus (5) recalls to our mind Napoleon's great retreat from Moscow through the wilds of Russia to Paris all alone in 1812 after effecting the perilous passage of the River Beresina. Sir Lepel Griffin, a writer of great repute, also finds many common features between the kingdoms of Ranjit Singh and Napoleon. He says: "The Sikh monarchy founded by Ranjit Singh was *Napoleonic* in the suddenness of its rise, the brilliancy of its success and the completeness of its overthrow."

5. Regarding the "inquisitiveness" of Ranjit Singh of which Jacques-

Ranjit Singh's mont speaks, a detailed account of his 'Insatiable inquisitiveness, curiosity' will be found in the letters (6) of Captain C. M. Wade, Political Agent at Ludhiana, to the Secretary of the Board, dated the 22nd, 25th and 31st May 1831 and 31st December 1832. The Hon'ble Captain Osborne who had the opportunity of conversing with Ranjit Singh in 1838 thus speaks of his "keen inquisitiveness" in his (Osborne's) *Journal*:—"It is hardly possible to give an idea of the ceaseless rapidity with which his questions flow or the infinite variety of subjects they embrace." This shews how eager he was "to increase the sphere of his knowledge and information" and how with

(1) For. & Pol. Dept. Misc., Vol. No. 206, pp. 18-19 and 165.

(2) For. & Pol. Dept. Misc., Vol. No. 206, pp. 135-6.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 142.

(4) For. & Pol. Dept., Misc. Vol. No. 206, p. 155; (in this attempt Ranjit Singh lost more than 500 men by drowning).

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 157.

(6) Pol. O. C. 1st July 1831, Nos. 42-5; Sec. O. C. 23rd April, 1833, No. 14.

no advantage of early education he made himself the best-informed man in the Punjab.

An interesting story is given by an anonymous writer in a recent issue of *The Statesman** which is well worth repeating:—

“Ranjit Singh fell once into a great fit of curiosity about Lord Auckland's religion, the Governor-General having declined engagements for Sundays and Christmas day; so he sent his *fakcer* to the Chaplain for translations of what the Chaplain says to the Lord Sahib every Sunday, and one day, after a review, he stopped the Chaplain to ask him questions about our prayers. One day he wanted the Chaplain to come and explain to him what it all meant. The Chaplain went, taking with him translations of the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the prayer for the Governor-General. The Commandments, the Governor-General thought, must have been a puzzle to Ranjit, especially the one about not coveting one's neighbour's goods. Ranjit was very much interested, the Chaplain reported on his return, and his *fakcer*, and Dhian Singh, asked a great many questions.”

6. Ranjit Singh cannot lay claim to a notable pedigree. From the Ranjit Singh's records (7) his origin can be traced to a petty *Zemindar* origin. (some say farmer) by the name of Daisoo, a Jat of Sansee race, who dwelt in a village called Sukercheck in the district of Manjha. A son by the name of Nodh and a humble patrimony of “three ploughs and a well” were “all” which Daisoo possessed in this world. It may be noted here that the possession of wells is considered very valuable in the Punjab, where on account of the dearth of extensive river-systems and water-supply, any reservoir of water is a source of wealth to their possessors. The value of wells in the Punjab is evidenced by the fact that when Ranjit Singh visited Menkerah in 1822 he ordered several wells to be dug around its Fort. (8)” Little did Daisoo dream that one of his descendants was destined to carve out for himself a great kingdom, greater than Italy, (9) to be the proud possessor of that Wells in the peerless gem, the Kohinoor, (10)—once the glory of Punjab. the Peacock throne of the Mughal Court, to become a powerful potentate, whose friendship would be courted not only by the Indian Chiefs and Rajas but also by foreign kings and princes and successive Governors-General from the Earl of Minto down to the Earl of Auckland (11), that he would create a powerful and well-trained army strong enough to resist the whole might

*“Kim” in *The Statesman* of Nov. 1st 1925. “Fakcer” mentioned in the above passage apparently refers to “Faqr Azizuddin” (see footnote 82).

(7) For. & Pol. Dept., Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 45.

(8) For. & Pol. Dept., Vol. No. 206, p. 135.

(9) *The Sikhs* by Gen. Sir J. H. Gordon, p. 118.

(10) For. & Pol. Dept., Misc., Vol. No. 206, pp. 98-9.

(11) Pol. O. C. 18th July, 1838, Nos. 52-4; Sec. O. C. 16th October, 1839, No. 12; Pol. O. C. 29th July, 1831, Nos. 39-40, etc.

of the British Empire in the hard-contested Sikh Wars (1845-9) and, on his death, would leave the Empire he founded at the zenith of its glory. "Such was the magnificence of his palaces at Lahore, Cashmere, Multan and Adinanagar" that Ranjit Singh admitted to Capt. Wade that "he himself felt surprised at the gifts of Fortune in changing his destiny". (12) What a contrast between Daisoo, the humble possessor of "a well and three ploughs" and his descendant, Ranjit Singh—the undisputed monarch of "the Land of the five rivers!"

7. The following is the family genealogical tree collected from available records (13):—

The Genealogical tree.

Dajson, a Jat of the Sansee tribe.

Nodh (becomes a Sikh by religion. Married the daughter of Gulab Singh of Mejiithia. Died in 1750).

Chert Singh (died in 1771 by the bursting of a matchlock in the Battle of Sahawarah in 1771).

Maha Singh (married sister of Bhag Singh, Raja of Jhind).

Schedj Singh (died in 1772).

Raj Kower, daughter, (married Sahib Singh of Gujarat).

Ranjit Singh (born on the 2nd November, 1780. Died on the 27th June, 1839).

Let us now turn for a moment to the history of the East India Company in Bengal. The year in which Maha Singh, the father of Ranjit Singh, was born was the most momentous in the annals of the Company. It was the year 1757 (14). In this memorable year Lord Clive sowed on the battle field of Plassey the seed of the great British-Indian Empire.

9. Maha Singh, who was a brave predatory chief, died in 1787 (15) at the early age of 30 leaving a fairly large territory. Ranjit Singh was then, according to the records, a boy of 7 years of age. As during this period, women* used to play an important part in public affairs, the task of administering the estates left by Maha Singh devolved on his widow, who was assisted by her late husband's dewan named Lekhoo or Lekhpert

(12) Sec. O. C. 23rd April, 1833, No. 14. (Letter from C. M. Wade to W. H. Macnaughten, dated 31st December, 1832, para. 3).

(13) For. & Pol. Dept., Misc., Vol. No. 206, pp. 45-9.

(14) But Syed Muhammad Latif in his *History of the Punjab* puts this date as 1760, and the year of his death as 1792 (p. 335).

(15) For. & Pol. Dept., Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 51. But Gordon in his book, *the Sikhs*, puts this date as 1792 (p. 83); he further says that Ranjit Singh was twelve years old when his father died.

* They not only took part in 'public affairs' but also in 'military affairs'. Mac Sedda Kower, mother-in-law of Ranjit materially helped him in his military campaigns (*vide* For. & Pol., Misc., Vol. 206, pp. 57 and 124).

(16). Obsessed with the glamour of power she was even unmindful of her own son's interests. Ranjit Singh, however, was a boy of a different mould altogether. Instead of indulging in idle pleasures, he spent his time in manly and warlike exercises (17). He himself told Captain Wade, Political Assistant at Ludhiana, in one of his conversations with him in the year 1831 (18) that "when my father died, he left 20,000 rounds of shots which I spent in firing at marks". Such 'heroic boyhood' was surely not destined by Nature to lose itself in effeminate degeneracy as planned by his selfish mother.

10. At the age of 13 (about the year 1793), Ranjit Singh (19), with the aid of his father's maternal uncle, Dal Singh, assumed the government of his father's estates. It may be noted here that Ranjit Singh has been accused by some writers (20) of matricide "to remove the obstacle which interfered with the attainment of his ambition". But there is nothing definite in the records which can substantiate this charge. This much only is alleged (21). "It is said that the means which Ranjit Singh adopted to effect his purpose involved a commission of some criminal acts, which if founded on truth, would appear deeply to implicate his moral character."

11. Ranjit Singh's great career since his assumption of his government in 1793 up to his last campaign against Peshawar in 1828 was a long series of thrilling military exploits extending over 40 years which, according to Sir Lepel Griffin, "undoubtedly puts his name among the great leaders of men from Julius Caesar down to Napoleon Bonaparte".

12. It is not within the scope of this paper to recount in detail the campaigns of Ranjit Singh, but two of the most important of them cannot be overlooked:—

(1) Against Lahore:—

Ranjit Singh's campaign against Lahore in 1799 in which he was materially aided by his mother-in-law, Mae Scdda Kower, was "the first event of his life from which his rise is chiefly to be dated" (22). It was here in 1801 that Ranjit Singh "formally assumed the title of 'Maharaja' and established a Mint and issued in token of sovereignty a coin in his name, on the obverse of which was the inscription 'Hospitality, the Sword, Victory and Conquest,' and on the reverse, the era and place of coining."

(16) For. & Pol. Dept., Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 52.

(17) For. & Pol. Dept., Misc., Vol. No. 206, pp. 52-3.

(18) Pol. O. C. 1 July 1831, No. 45.

(19) For. & Pol. Dept., Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 53; but Gordon and Thorburn in their works, *The Sikhs* and *The Punjab in Peace and War*, put the age as 17.

(20) *The Punjab in Peace and War* by S. S. Thorburn, p. 21; *The History of India*, by Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 274.

(21) For. Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 53.

(22) For. Misc., Vol. No. 206, pp. 57-8.

(2) Against Azim Khan:—

Ranjit Singh's campaign against the Afghan King, Azim Khan (23) who came to invade his dominion in 1823 ranks as one of the greatest battles of the world. "The army of Azim Khan was estimated at 25,000 and Ranjit Singh had about 35,000 men." It would have ended in disaster for Ranjit Singh, had not his propitious star brought providential help to him. On the fateful field of Nowshera where the two armies met, the troops of Azim Khan fought with such desperation that Ranjit Singh very nearly lost his crown. The documents say that the Afghans "worked up to a pitch of frenzied enthusiasm, stained their hands and feet with the juice of *henna* and rushed upon the Sikhs." It further appears from the records, that just when the Afghans were going to strike the decisive blow, Azim Khan, their Chief, misled by a false rumour "that the Sikhs had penetrated to the rear of the field and that his harem was in danger," hastily retreated from the field to its rescue—a fact which dispirited his soldiers and led victory to the standard of Ranjit Singh.

13. Although to build his mighty empire Ranjit Singh humbled successive Chiefs and *Sirdars* of the Punjab and the adjoining countries and used all manner of means to exact big tributes and *nazaranas* from them to enrich and replenish his Treasury (24), let it be said to his credit, that he never wantonly sullied and soiled his hands with their blood. On the contrary, the records of the Imperial Record Department, teem with instances of his favour and bounty, bestowed irrespective of caste, creed and religion. In some cases even the booty (25) taken by his soldiers was ordered to be returned to the proper owners. For a full catalogue of such favoured names, the records may be profitably consulted.

14. The following testimonies of three eminent Europeans regarding the clemency of Ranjit Singh, amply repay perusal. Baron Carl Von Hugel, a German traveller who visited Ranjit Singh's Court in 1835, thus speaks about him:—"The sole aim of Ranjit Singh is the preservation and extension of his unlimited power; and though his ambitious mind considered all means perfectly allowable to this end he has never wantonly imbrued his hands in blood. Never perhaps was so large an empire founded by one man with so little criminality". H. E. Fane, Aide-de-Camp to the then Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Fane, who visited the Court of Ranjit Singh in 1837, supports the above view: "Ranjit has the character generally of a kind and generous master and one of the best princes that has ever reigned in India. As evidence of being a really good man may be cited the fact

(23) For. Misc., Vol. No. 206, pp. 140-45; Ranjit Singh was so much impressed with the "furious impetuosity" of the Afghan soldiers on the battle-field of Nowshera that he remarked to Capt. Wade "the Sikhs hardly know how to contend" (page 141).

(24) Capt. Osborne says that "Ranjit had 12 millions in gold in his Treasury at Amritsar in 1839." (Osborne's *Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh*, London 1840, p. 218).

(25) For. & Pol., Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 118.

of his never having put a man to death for even the most heinous crime. His exceeding kindness and good nature throughout our entire visit makes us believe that such was his real character." Osborne who, at the instance of Lord Auckland, visited the Court of Ranjit Singh in 1838, also corroborates the above opinion in the following terms: "The Maharaja rules with a rod of iron, it is true; but in justice to him it must be stated that except in actual open warfare he has never been known to take life, though his own (26) has been attempted more than once, and his reign will be found freer from any striking acts of cruelty and oppression than those of many more civilized monarchs."

Ranjit Singh's
shortcomings.

15. None the less he was not without his blemishes:—

- (a) About the year 1810 (27), Ranjit Singh, without any justification, exacted 10,000 rupees from the innocent *faqirs* of Utchgul Imam, the shrine of a Muhammadan saint.
- (b) About the year 1813 (28) he extorted the 'Kohinoor' jewel from its possessor, Shah Shuja, ex-monarch of Cabul, who was at the time under his protection.
- (c) In 1817 (29) Ranjit Singh without sufficient reason dispossessed the Raja of Nurpur at the instigation of Raja Sansar Chand, Chief of Katoch, who bore a private grudge and had him placed in confinement.
- (d) In 1821 (30), Ranjit Singh without apparent reason imprisoned, after confiscating all her territories, his mother-in-law, Mae Sedda Kower, who had so largely helped him in his earlier career. It may, however, be mentioned that her estate of Wednee, on the east of the Sutlej, was immediately released on the intervention of Capt. Murray, then at Ludhiana.
- (e) About the year 1822 (31) some *Jagirdas* were heavily fined by Ranjit Singh without any adequate reason. One of them, Sirdar Dal Singh, who was fined one lakh of rupees committed suicide by taking poison.
- (f) Some time in the year 1826 (32) Ranjit Singh's character underwent a great change and it became a strange combination of "excessive liberality and avarice". While he was granting extensive charity to his favourites he was committing "indiscriminate extortion from every officer of the State". Misser Dewan Chand—a sturdy upright man and the hero of the Multan, Cashmere

(26) Pol. O. C. 1 July 1831, No. 43.

(27) For. Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 86.

(28) For. Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 99.

(29) For. Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 112.

(30) *Ibid*, p. 125.

(31) *Ibid*, p. 139.

(32) For. Misc., Vol. No. 206, pp. 161-2.

and Derbend expeditions—strongly protested against the Maharaja's avarice. Ranjit Singh so far forgot himself that he severely scolded him for his so-called audacity. This was too much for the heart of that great soldier. Deeply mortified, he ended his life, some say, by poison.

- (g) In 1828 (33) Ranjit Singh tried to force Raja Anuruddha Chand, Chief of Katoch, to marry his sister with his favourite minister, Raja Dhiyan Singh. But Anuruddha refused the alliance on account of the obscure origin of Dhiyan Singh. As Ranjit Singh still continued to press Raja Anuruddha unreasonably for this marriage, the latter requested a month's time to enable his sister to take a bath in the holy waters of the Ganges at Hurdwar—an act essential for a Punjab lady preliminary to her marriage. In the meantime Raja Anuruddha with his family and sister fled to Nalagher, east of the Sutlej. Ranjit Singh on this plea dispossessed him of his territories and annexed them.

16. Ranjit Singh's first relations with the British began in 1805 (34).

Ranjit Singh's contact with the British. just after his return to Lahore from his Multan expedition of 1804. In that year he first came into contact with the British by taking an important part in the treaty which was concluded between Jaswant Rao Holkar and Lord Lake when the former, after crossing the Beas river at Byrowal, entered Ranjit Singh's dominion near Amritsar, closely pursued by the latter. But his first permanent connection with the British dates from the year 1808. It happened thus:—The phenomenal military success of his great general, Dewan Mohkern Chand, on the Cis-Sutlej states in 1807 (35) emboldened Ranjit Singh to conquer the whole country east of the Sutlej up to the Jamuna—the northern boundary of the then Company's dominion in India. To force him to desist and also to invite his co-operation to thwart the threatened attack of Napoleon on India about this time, Lord Minto sent a mission to his Court (36) in 1808 headed by Charles Metcalfe, then First Assistant to the Resident at Delhi.

17. It happened that amongst Metcalfe's attendants there were a number of Muhammadans. It being *Muharram* time of 1809. (February 1809) they were celebrating the martyrdom of Husain with the usual ceremonies. The passing of *tazias* to the place of burial to the accompaniment of wailing and tomtoming excited the Akali Sikhs to frenzy. A rush upon Metcalfe's camp would have surely taken place, had not these handful of Muhammadans, trained in European military discipline, stood to arms and scattered the rioters. Ranjit Singh reached

(33) *Ibid*, pp. 171-3.

(34) *For. Misc.*, Vol. No. 206, p. 70.

(35) *Ibid*, pp. 74-5.

(36) *For. Misc.*, Vol. 206, p. 76.

the scene just in time to see the Sikhs dispersed. He hastened to Metcalfe, made ample apologies for the unprovoked attack on his men, complimented

Treaty of Amritsar, 1809. him on the discipline of his sepoys and granted all the British demands. He then entered into a friendly treaty with the British on the 25th April, 1809 (37), the details of which are given in the records (38). One important condition of the treaty was that "the Maharaja should not extend his conquests to the east of the Sutlej".

18. The Muharram incident established his faith in European military discipline and he sought to have his soldiers trained according to Western standards. We find from the records (39) that in the fierce battle of Nowshera with the Afghans in 1823, when the fate of his empire was in the balance (40), Ranjit Singh once more felt strongly the necessity of imparting European military training to his troops.

19. After the fall of the magnificent Mughal Empire in the beginning of the 19th century, Hindusthan presented a sad spectacle of constant internecine warfare, rapine and violence. The imbecility of the later Mughal Emperors, their indolence and love of ease and luxury paved the way for ambitious foreign adventurers to try their fortune in India—which appeared to them a most alluring prize, a land strewn with gems and jewels—a perfect *El Dorado* of Fairy tale. Bands of enterprising Europeans (41) began to flood the Indian Courts and enter the armies of the Native rulers. Their unquestionable talent and knowledge of military tactics won the admiration of the Native Princes and Chiefs, who eagerly employed them with a view to organizing their armies according to European modes of discipline.

20. Amongst these adventurers were two French veterans of Waterloo—Allard and Ventura—whose services were eagerly utilised by the Maharaja about the year 1823. From the records (42) it appears that after the fall of the Napoleonic Empire on the field of Waterloo in 1815, they left their native country, passed through Constantinople and Asia Minor, and accepted service in Persia. Not meeting with any success there, they proceeded to India by way of Candahar, Cabul and Peshawar and arrived at Shahdara opposite to Lahore in 1823. Although their admission into Ranjit Singh's service stirred the jealousy of his old servants, we find from the records that "it created a new era in his Government which led to those changes in its military organisation which the benefit of European science is calculated to introduce." It is interesting to note the Frenchmen's smart reply—that "a shawl once woven cannot be re-woven"—when a battalion already trained in Indian

(37) *Ibid*, p. 78.

(38) *Ibid*, pp. 78-80.

(39) *For. Misc.*, Vol. 206, pp. 141-2.

(40) *Ibid*, p. 142.

(41) India Pol. Despatch to the Court of Directors, No. 14 of 1831.

(42) *For. Misc.*, Vol. 206, pp. 125-34.

methods were put under them for European training. The following incident shows how the appointments of European foreigners in the army of the Maharaja was resented by the Sikh soldiers:—"In 1826 Generals Ventura and Allard represented to the Maharaja that a number of Sikh *Sardars* and soldiers had refused to serve under them as they were foreigners and were ready to oppose their authority with drawn swords. The Maharaja at once at the head of a body of troops and with some guns came out of the city to Anarkali and ordered his tents to be pitched there. Many arrests were made, officers degraded and ringleaders fined. These prompt measures restored order among the troops, the Maharaja taking the utmost precaution to allay unfounded fears." Next year, Ranjit Singh allowed some more Europeans to enter his army. They were Oms, a Spaniard, Court, a Frenchman, Avitabile, an Italian, and Mevius, a Prussian. In the year 1831 an Italian, Signior Catchioli (43), came to Ranjit Singh's Court at Lahore for service but failed to secure it. It is interesting to note that Ranjit Singh also encouraged the Gurkhas (44) to enter his arm. His army, besides these, contained a large number of Muhammadan troops (45)

21. The suicide of Ranjit Singh's great general, Missir Dewan Chand, in 1826 (*vide* page 48) was an irreparable loss to the Punjab and was followed by a series of unhappy events. In that very year (46) the Maharaja was struck down by a serious attack of fever, due to the excessive rains of that year. On account of the virulence and obstinacy of the fever, Doctor Murray of Ludhiana was immediately sent for by Faqir Imam-ud-din, the Maharaja's most devoted officer. The doctor at the request of the Maharaja stayed with him for nearly 7 months. Under his able treatment the Maharaja regained his normal condition. It appears from the records that Doctor Murray made a very favourable impression on the Maharaja, though Latif in the *History of the Punjab* (p. 436) says:—"that Doctor Murray was kept more as an object of curiosity than anything else." At the end of this year (we learn from the records) some powerful subject-chiefs threw up their allegiance to the Maharaja and tried to be independent of him. Further we find

The Cholera outbreak of 1827. (47), Cholera—which about this period was raging in Hindusthan—reached the Punjab. Its effects on the Punjab and the adjoining countries were terrific. It devastated the cities of Lahore and Amritsar, claiming for its victim no less a man than General Boodh Singh, who had only a few months before done signal service in checking the terrible revolt of the Afghan fanatic, Syed Ahmed, near Attock—a brilliant military

(43) Pol. O. C., 4 Nov. 1831, No. 19.

(44) Pol. O. C., 1 July 1831, No. 43; 18 July 1838, No. 53.

(45) Sec. O. C., 7 Aug. 1839, Nos. 11-12.

(46) For. Misc., Vol. 206, p. 162.

(47) For. Misc., Vol. 206, pp. 169-71.

achievement for which Capt. Wade congratulated the Maharaja (48). 'This scourge', say the documents, (49) "extended quickly from the plains of the Punjab to Cashmere, when its progress was marked with increased devastation, about 10,000 persons having perished in the valley." To add to the calamity, "a severe earthquake (50) occurred there nearly at the same time, which overthrew many houses and buried many people in their ruins."

22. Ranjit Singh's love for horses amounted almost to a passion and he maintained an enormous stud for his personal use, collected from all parts of India, Arabia and Persia. From the records (51), we find, that in making treaties with the vanquished foes and in punishing his refractory subordinate Chiefs, he was in the habit of demanding horses as one of the essential conditions. The records further enlighten us, what enormous amount of trouble he took between the years 1820 and 1828 to secure the horse "Leilee" of rare beauty from its owner, Yar Muhammad Khan, Governor of Peshawar, and how liberally he rewarded Ventura for ultimately securing the animal for him through the instrumentality of his friend, Sheikh Faiz. Ranjit Singh also secured another horse named "Zerd Kehar" from the Afghans of Peshawar in 1827. The Maharaja's peculiarity was so well-known to the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck (52), that on several occasions he presented beautiful horses to him.

23. In dress the Maharaja was scrupulously simple, though his court, which was an imitation of the Court of the Great Mughals, was thronged with "Chiefs and Nobles blazing with gold and jewels and dressed and armed in every conceivable variety of colour and fashion." In winter and spring he generally wore a warm dress of saffron-coloured Cashmere cloth and in the hot weather white Bengal Muslin without jewel or ornament. His liking for Bengal Muslin can be adduced from the fact that in the year 1832 (53) the British Government presented 10 pieces of the finest Dacca Muslin to him. From the papers (54), we also find that Benares *Kimkhab*s and other valuable wearing stuffs were not distasteful to him. The simplicity in dress of the Maharaja, even when attending his Court is thus described by Captain Osborne who was present at his Adinanagar Court in 1838:—"Cross-legged in a golden chair, dressed in simple white, wearing no ornaments but a single string*

(48) For a complete history of Syed Ahmed the students are referred to the *History of the Punjab* by S. M. Latif, pp. 437-9; Pol. O. C. July 1831, No. 42.

(49) For. Misc., Vol. 206, p. 169.

(50) *Ibid*, p. 170.

(51) For. Misc., Vol. No. 206, p. 156.

(52) Pol. O. C., 22 July 1831, Nos. 23-4; 4 Nov. 1831, Nos. 76-8; 30 Dec. 1831, Nos. 42-4.

(53) Pol. O. C., 4 June 1832, Nos. 4 & 7-8.

(54) Pol. O. C., 26 Aug. 1831, No. 57; 4 Nov. 1831, No. 52.

* Capt. Osborne speaks thus about this ornament:—"The Maharaja's string of pearls was, I think, handsomer than the diamond—Kohinoor. They are about 300 in number and literally the size of small marbles, all picked pearls and round, and perfect both in shape and colour."

of enormous pearls round the waist and the celebrated Kohinoor or 'mountain of light' on his arm—the jewel rivalled, if not surpassed, in brilliancy by the glance of fire which every now and then shot from his single eye as it wandered restlessly round the circle—sat the 'Lion of the Punjab'."

24. On the festive occasion of the Dussera, which for the generality of Indian Chiefs is an occasion for profuse display of grandeur of dress, was for Ranjit Singh an occasion for holding grand military reviews. Capt. Wade who attended the Maharaja's celebration of this festival on the 16th October 1831 writes thus (55) to H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Board, on the 19th of that month:—"It was an interesting festival. The plain on which it was held was covered with troops which, after the proper ceremonies for the day, passed before the Maharaja and afforded me an excellent opportunity of seeing the whole of the Sikh army and all the *Sirdars* and diplomatic agents attending His Highness' Court." Again in the letter which Shahamut Ali (*Munshi* of Capt. Wade) wrote to Capt. Wade on the 14th October 1837 (56) about Ranjit Singh's *Dussera* festival held at 'Baba Nanak Ka Dehra' in that year, we find strong evidence of the Maharaja's predilection for military displays and not for mere spectacular exhibitions. "Soon after our arrival, the troops were ordered to pass on inspection. The Regiments N. I. of Mons. Ventura and Mons. Court with bands of musicians playing at the head of each Regiment and followed by a man bearing the *Granth* (Sikh holy book) passed first and were preceded by the Regiments of cavalry under the command of Mons. Allard. About 200 *sowars* who were dressed in cuirasses were at the head of them. They were followed by a large train of horse artillery. After their Regiments had passed inspection Messrs. Allard and Court waited on His Highness. The former made a *nazar* of some new coins made of gold and silver and struck in France." The letter (57) of Capt. Wade to Mr. Prinsep dated the 31st May 1831 proves that in his interviews with important European officials, Ranjit Singh took more delight in showing his guests the shooting-skill of his soldiers and officers than in displaying before them the grandeur of his wearing apparel. A careful study of the records (58) will also show that even amidst the pleasures of "nautch-girls and shining cups of wine" when talk and display of dress absorbed the attention of other men, Ranjit Singh preferred to converse with Sir David Ochterlony on military and commercial

(55) Sec. O. C., 25 Nov. 1831, No. 50.

(56) Pol. O. C., 18 July 1838, No. 53; This document contains a very graphic description of the Maharaja's *Dussera* festival in the year 1837.

(57) Pol. O. C., 1 July 1831, No. 45.

(58) *Ibid*, No. 43.

subjects such as the Amritsar treaty of 1809, the navigation of the Indus, and the state of his relations with Sind (59).

25. Ranjit Singh's religion, as far as can be ascertained from the Ranjit Singh's records, was the moral system propagated by the Sikh Religion. reformer, Guru Govind, greatly modified by Brahminical tenets. The following instances will illustrate this point:—

- (a) On the birth of his son, Kharak Singh, in 1802 (60) he went to bathe in the "pool of Tarentaren", near Amritsar—a tank sacred to the Sikhs. "This pool" according to Hunter "has the reputation of possessing miraculous powers on all persons afflicted with leprosy who can swim across it. He further richly ornamented the Sikh temple which was built by its side and overlaid it with plates of copper gilt."
- (b) In the year 1803 (61) he went on a pilgrimage to the Ganges at Hurdwar—the sacred city of the Hindus—which was then in the hands of the Mahrattas.
- (c) In the year 1815 Ranjit Singh presented a gilded roof to the Jwalamukhi temple at Kangra and in 1831 sent 125 rupees (62) as an offering to the shrine.
- (d) In 1823 (63) after the terrible Battle of Nowshera he went to the Golden Temple of Amritsar "to offer thanks-giving for his victory and to make a donation of a lakh of rupees to the Sikh priests".
- (e) Capt. Wade (64), who was present at his Court at Adinanagar in 1831, tells us that "about 1 p.m. he rises and passes an hour in hearing a portion of the *Granth* read out to him."
- (f) In the year 1838 (65) when Lord Auckland paid him a visit at Amritsar, the Maharaja went with him to attend the religious service at the Golden Temple.
- (g) Lastly we find, that when in the year 1839 (66), the shadow of death was fast creeping upon his paralysed body he ordered

(59) The records of 1833 deal *in extenso* with Ranjit Singh's attempt to promote the commercial growth of the Punjab by placing the system of transit duties in that country on a firm basis, by removing the vexatious taxes, by opening the Indus and the Sutlej and by the commercial treaties with the English (*vide* Sec. O. C., 4 Feb. 1833, Nos. 5—10; Sec. O. C., 23 Apr. 1833, Nos. 14-19, etc.). We also find from Pol. O. C. 23 May 1833, Nos. 19-20, that the Maharaja proposed to open a salt-depot at Mithankote. See also Aitchison's *Treaties*, etc., Vol. II, 1863, pp. 240-50.

(60) For. Misc., Vol. 206, p. 66.

(61) *Ibid.*, p. 68.

(62) Pol. O. C., 1 July 1831, No. 42.

(63) For. Misc. Vol. 206, p. 145.

(64) Pol. O. C., 1 July 1831, No. 45.

(65) *The Sikhs* by J. H. Gordon, p. 109.

(66) Sec. O. C., 4 December 1839, No. 78.

(though the order was never carried out) that the Kohinoor should be sent to the temple of Jaggannath at Puri.

These incidents tend to prove that whatever may have been the actual religious faith of Ranjit Singh, it was undoubtedly greatly influenced by the Brahminical cult. But that the Maharaja was not a religious bigot will be evidenced from the fact that he had also great faith in the prayers of Muhammadan *faqirs* and *darveshes*. (67)

26. As a hard-hearted man of the world the Maharaja should have His sense of been above all weaknesses, yet at times, we find he was superstition. a slave to superstition and put faith in omens, charms, and witchcraft. It appears from the records that in the course of his dealings with the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, in 1831 (68) he ordered his court priests to consult the pages of the *Holy Granth* and his court astrologer to divine from the aspect of the stars whether the results would be favourable to him or not. Again we find that "in the year 1833 the Maharaja again fell ill. He offered a pair of shawls, 1,000 rupees in money and 25 pieces of crystallized sugar as a *nazar* to a Bairagi *Faqir*, who lived on the banks of the Ravi to pray for his recovery. But these things were distributed among the poor by the order of the *Faqir*. On the night previous to the first day of the moon the Maharaja dreamt a dream. He saw a band of Sikhs dressed in black, with dreadful features, speaking harshly to him. Ranjit Singh was highly perplexed at this and Brahmins and astrologers were consulted as to the interpretation of the dream. They declared, after a reference to their holy books that the Sikhs whom he had seen in his dream were the soldiers of God (*Nihangs*) who had come to tell him that he had relinquished the religion of the *Guru* by marrying in that year Gul Bahar, a Muhammadan dancing-girl of Amritsar, and that, unless atonement was made, the wrath of the *Guru* would not be averted. It was therefore resolved that the Maharaja should take 'the *Pahul*' (69) afresh and renew the faith of his ancestors by doing penance for his sin. The Maharaja allowed himself to be duly invested with 'the *Pahul*' of the *Guru* for the second time. It may, however, be pointed out that in accepting 'the *Pahul*' it was not the intention of the Maharaja to discard Gul Bahar, the charming Nautch girl of Amritsar." Captain Osborne has expressed some doubt as to the genuineness of the Maharaja's superstition. He says that "it is difficult to say whether his superstition is real or only a mask assumed to gratify and conciliate his people."

(67) *History of the Punjab* by S. M. Latif, 1891, p. 466.

(68) *Pol. O. C.*, 1 July 1831, No. 42.

(69) The ceremony of the '*Pahul*' was as follows:—"The novice, who must have reached the age of discrimination, stands with his hands joined in supplication and repeats after the priest the articles of his faith. Some sugar and water are stirred in a vessel with a double-edged dagger and the water is sprinkled on his face and person; he drinks the remainder and exclaims "Wah Guru" which complete the ceremony. At least five Sikhs must be present at the ceremony one being a priest. Women were sometimes, but not generally initiated after the above formula. "*The Punjab and North-West Frontier of India*" by An Old Punjabi—1878—page 12.

27. To his credit it must be said that after the conclusion of the Treaty of 1809 with the British, Ranjit Singh took every care to abide by its conditions. Though secret agents (70) from different Indian States strained their utmost between the years 1824 and 1826 by offer of large bribes (71) to tempt him to prove false to this treaty he continued true to its terms. The Jats of Bharatpur were so enraged that, according to General Gordon, they sent him women's garments as a mark of their dissatisfaction with his conduct. Again, we find from the papers of the year 1836 (72) that when M. Antoine, who had been in the service of Begum Sombre requested Ranjit Singh "to take him as well as the Begum's band of musicians" and the other Indian Officers of her disbanded troops into his service, he consulted the British Government as "these were affairs connected with the East side of the Sutlej." We also find from the records of this year (73) that agreeably to the conditions of the treaty of 1809, the Maharaja, at the request of the British Government caused the arrest of two notorious *Thugs* who had after murdering a *Subadar* of the British Army entered into his military service at Peshawar in the corps of *Sirdar* Tej Singh under assumed names and sent them to Captain Wade at Ludhiana for punishment.

28. The records (74) of the Imperial Record Department abound with papers which go to show how by means of friendly intercourse with British officials, presents, missions and letters, Ranjit Singh endeavoured to perpetuate his friendship with the English at home, as well as, in India.

29. No papers among the records give more detailed accounts of Ranjit Singh's Court, character, mode of life and pleasures than the letters of Capt. C. M. Wade, Political Assistant at Ludhiana, who visited the Maharaja at his summer villa at Adinanagar in the year 1831 and thus came in close touch with the Maharaja. In his letters (75) to H. T. Prinsep, Secretary to the Board, dated the 22nd, 25th, and 31st May of that year, he gives graphic accounts which "exhibit the Maharaja in three different situations of state, retirement and at the head of his troops." The following extract from his letter dated the 22nd May 1831, describes very clearly the famous Adinanagar summer-seat:—"Adinanagar,

(70) For. & Pol., Misc., Vol. 206, p. 159. We find from Pol. O. C. 9 May 1838, No. 47, that Nepal's agents used to come to the Court of Ranjit Singh in the disguise of *Faqirs*.

(71) Durjan Sal of Bharatpur offered Ranjit Singh 50 thousand rupees a day besides a large gratuity for the co-operation of his troops on the East of the Sutlej. (For. Misc., Vol. 206, p. 159).

(72) Pol. O. C., 2 May 1836, Nos. 57-8.

(73) Pol. O. C., 28 November 1836, No. 19.

(74) For. Misc., Vol. 206, p. 168; Sec. O. C., 30 April 1833, No. 11; Pol. O. C. 14 Nov. 1836, Nos. 7-9; Govr.-Genl.'s Sec. Despatch to the Court of Directors, dated Kurnul, 19 November 1831, paras. 34-41, etc.

(75) Pol. O. C., 1 July 1831, Nos. 42-5.

which is near the hills of Nurpur is a town founded by Adina Beg Khan the last of the Muhammadan Governors of Lahore. Ranjit Singh has made it his retreat for some years past in the hot months, having been attracted to the place by the umbrageous groves with which it abounds and the freshness of air, imparted by a canal which pervades them. In the centre of these groves is the Maharaja's residence. The rest are occupied by the *Sirdars* of the Court and beyond them there are encampments of troops on all sides consisting of 'Ghorcheras', (76) his principal camp of infantry of eleven battalions, several brigades of horse artillery and the corps of Messrs. Allard and Court." Osborne, who also visited the Maharaja's country-seat in the year 1838, adds the following to the above description "The garden communicates through a handsome gateway with a fine level plain. A short distance in front of it is the parade-ground, between which and the gateway a small scarlet and gold-embroidered shawl-tent is always pitched. It is entirely open in front and here soon after dark, Ranjit Singh retires to rest, sleeping in the open air and guarded only by a few Sikh *Sipahis*."

30. Another extract from the same letter shews how courteous he was to his visitors. "After arriving at the place fixed for my residence at Adinanagar. I received a *Zyafat* of rupees 5,000 and 101 pots of sweet-meats besides bags of rice, *ghce* and other articles of entertainment.....After a conversation on different subjects for about half an hour, during which he referred several times to the friendship existing between the two States, he called for *Attar* and gave me my dismissal". The following extract (77) from the letter of Shahamut Ali (*Munshi* of Capt. Wade) to Capt. Wade dated, 'Baba Nanak ka Dehra', the 27th October 1837, gives another striking instance of the Maharaja's civility to his visitors. "In the meantime two trays containing some pieces *khilat* were produced. For sometime I was at a loss to know for whom they are intended, but the Maharaja soon removed the doubt by ordering a necklace to be put on my neck, a pair of bangles on my hands and a *jigha* to be tied to my forehead, at the same time directing ten pieces of clothes to be made over to the charge of my own servant. I was absorbed in a deep thought to make out what His Highness meant by giving the *khilat* so unexpectedly, but I soon penetrated into his design that it signified for us to take leave without our representing to him any other case."

31. The following extract from Capt. Wade's letter (78) to H. T. Prinsep, dated the 31st May 1831, gives us a clear picture of Ranjit Singh's daily life at Adinanagar. "In the hot weather the Maharaja goes out about 5 a.m., spends an hour or two in riding and inspecting his troops and then takes the first meal often

(76) The name of one of his 'corps'. Capt. Murray in his Political reports, calls them *Ghorchurs*. (*Hugel's Travels in the Punjab*, p. 327 footnote).

(77) Pol. O. C., 9 May 1838, No. 47.

(78) Pol. O. C., 1 July 1831, No. 45.

without dismounting from his horse. About 9 a.m. he retires to his residence and holds a Court receiving reports issuing orders to his officers and examining minutely into the financial accounts of his Government himself. At noon he reclines for an hour, having a Secretary by his side to write from his dictation, as different things requiring execution, cross his mind. About 1 p.m. he rises and passes an hour in hearing a portion of the 'Granth' read to him, after which he resumes his court, which lasts till the day begins to close when he either sends for a set of dancing-girls to beguile the time or secludes himself in meditation until his second repast. He goes to bed between 8 and 9 p.m. a Secretary still being in attendance, to whom he frequently dictates his orders in the night. In the cold weather he does not go abroad until near 9 a.m. His habits in other respects are the same with the exception of mounting and promenading his horse in the evening along the parterres of his garden."

32. The social amenities of life were not neglected, Ranjit Singh entertaining his friends on the most lavish scale and caring little for expense or trouble. The archives of the Government of India contain many interesting and amusing accounts of the gaieties at Adinanagar, which it is not the purpose of this paper to recount in detail. (79).

33. In the year 1835 he had his first stroke of paralysis. From the letter (80) of Capt. Wade to W. H. Macnaughten, dated Ludhiana, the 23rd August 1835, it appears that "early in the morning of the 17th August, Maharaja was seized with a paralysis of the face, right arm and side which made him lose his speech during the whole day, his countenance became considerably distorted, but on the following day he was comparatively better".

34. Before this attack which shattered his iron constitution, Ranjit Singh, according to the records, (81) "was in excellent health and was in complete possession of that activity of mind and body which had always been the prominent feature of his character". Faqir Azizuddin (82), the

(79) The curious student is referred to the following records for fuller information: Pol. O. C., 1 July 1831, No. 43; also *The Journal of Capt. H. G. Osborne*, Military Secretary to the Governor-General, Earl of Auckland, pp. 85-6, 95, 189-92.

(80) Pol. O. C., 14 Sept. 1835, No. 33.

(81) Pol. O. C., 1 July 1831, No. 42.

(82) Faqir Azizuddin was the Foreign Minister of the Maharaja and a most conspicuous figure of his Court. He was a 'Sufi', a sect to which some best thinkers and poets of the East have belonged. He was a great humorist. When sent on a mission to Lord William Bentinck at Simla in 1831 he was asked by an English officer of which eye the Maharaja was blind. His answer was "The splendour of the Maharaja's face is such that I have never been able to look close enough to discover". On one occasion Ranjit Singh asked him whether he preferred the Hindu or Muhammadan religion. The Faqir's answer was: "I am a man floating in the midst of a mighty river. I turn my eyes towards the land but can distinguish no difference in either bank". He also helped Ranjit Singh in his military career and conquered the Fort of Tibee Lal Bag about 20 miles south of Pakpettan. (For. Mis., Vol. 206, page 109). For a detailed account of his life see Sir Lepel Griffin's *Ranjit Singh* (Rulers of Indian Series), pages 117-22.

Maharaja's devoted and favourite servant, thus speaks (83) of his master's health before the attack:—"His Highness enjoyed unusually good health; he took regular exercise daily, slept well, had an excellent appetite, his functions were natural, in short, he was like a pearl without a flaw or stain of any kind".

35. Dr. W. L. MacGregor, M.D., then in medical charge of the Political Agency of Ludhiana, who went to Amritsar on the 7th September 1835 to attend on Ranjit Singh thus speaks of the immediate cause of the Maharaja's paralytic attack in his letter to Wade, dated Amritsar, the 18th September 1835 (84). It is a very interesting document: "About a month ago the Maharaja retired to rest in a chamber where his body was freely exposed to a free circulation of cool air, the body being at the time in rather a profuse state of perspiration. In the middle of the night he awoke suddenly and found himself unable to move his tongue, so as to articulate and his mouth distorted to a considerable degree. His attendants were alarmed at these symptoms and various remedies, chiefly aromatics, were prescribed by Faqir Azizuddin. By the aid of these, Maharaja was soon able to articulate a little, his general health likewise suffered a visible change. There was a loss of appetite, some heaviness about the head, heat in the palms of the hands and soles of the feet; thirst, frequently urgent and a general despondency and depression of spirits. These symptoms were present when I first saw him on the morning of the 8th instant, though in a less severe degree than they had been. The Maharaja has much aversion to the use of internal medicines; so that I experienced extreme difficulty in treating him. By the regulation of diet and regimen, gentle exercise every morning and occasional laxatives, with the external application of stimulating embrocations he has been daily improving. He now speaks with fluency, his enunciation being correct, full and sonorous, the wryness of his mouth is hardly perceptible to a casual visitor, his general health likewise improves; the thirst is moderate; he sleeps, in general, well; the appetite is still indifferent, there is no sensation of heat in the hands or feet unless his rest be disturbed. Complete recovery is retarded by the use of opium to which the Maharaja has been addicted for a long time and which, at this time of his life, it would not be prudent to withdraw too suddenly". It transpires from the records (85) that on the evening of the 3rd October 1835 Doctor MacGregor "left the Maharaja in a convalescent state and returned to Ludhiana."

36. In the beginning of the year 1837 (86) Ranjit Singh had a second stroke of paralysis on his right side which continued for six months. On this occasion he did not lose the

(83) Pol. O. C., 19 October 1835, No. 44.

(84) *Ibid.*

(85) Pol. O. C., 2 Nov. 1835, No. 55.

(86) Sec. O. C., 7 Aug. 1839, No. 10.

power of speech. The joint opinions of Dr. D. MacLeod and Dr. A. Wood on the Maharaja's health as embodied in the paper dated the 15th March, 1837, will be found in the Political O. C., 22 May, 1837, No. 74 A.

37. Misfortunes followed thick and fast. A year after his second stroke of paralysis, his favourite wife, the mother of Kharak Singh dies—Ranjit Singh attacked by an elephant. of 'nakahun' (87)—she being a daughter of the family of 'Nakkai' Chiefs—breathed her last on the 20th July 1838. Scarcely a week had elapsed when his own life was seriously threatened by the attack of a mad elephant. Let the records (88) tell the story of these two events:—"On the 20th July 1838, Raja Dhiyan Singh reported the demise of Kunwar Kharak Singh's mother occasioned by headache and pains in her sides. The Maharaja was greatly afflicted on hearing the intelligence and ordered several courtiers to proceed to the house of 'Nakahun' with 3,000 rupees, 200 ducats as well as two pieces of silk, besides a quantity of sandal and other articles to assist Kharak Singh in performing the funeral rites and to see the corpse burnt in his garden situated to the north of Anarkali". The following extract describes his encounter with the mad elephant:—"His Highness on the morning of the 24th July 1838 went out as usual for an airing. He was riding in a *Khasa* (a kind of litter) along with Jawahir Singh, the brother of Raja Hira Singh. On his way when he reached to the streamlet, opposite to the fort, he was attacked by a furious elephant which had been taken out for forage. The bearers of the *Khasa* being alarmed, dropped the *Khasa* on the spot and ran off to a distance, the orderly *sowars* spread themselves also here and there and the *Khasa* wherein the Maharaja sat was entirely left alone. The elephant soon broke some of the glasses of it and the Maharaja shrank into one of its corners. Sirdar Atar Singh who observed what was passing, came forward and gave the animal a cut on his trunk with his sword. On receiving the wound the elephant took to flight in another direction. The Maharaja then offered thanksgiving to the Almighty for having had such a providential escape and at the same time observed to Raja Dhiyan Singh that he was saved alone by the grace of God, otherwise, his life had been lost. Five thousand rupees were ordered to be distributed in charity to the poor on the occasion of the Maharaja's safety."

38. His third paralytic stroke. (89) and this ended his great career. It was greatly due to his excesses during Lord Auckland's visit to him at Ferozepur in that year. On this occasion the Maharaja placed himself under

(87) Pol. O. C., 9 Jan. 1839, No. 29.

(88) Pol. O. C., 9 Jan. 1839, No. 29. (*Vide Abstract of Intelligence from Lahore*, dated from the 20th to the 24th July 1838).

(89) S. C. O. C., 7 Aug. 1839, No. 10.

the treatment of Dr. J. Steele who was in that year on special duty at Ferozepur. This Doctor on reaching Lahore on the morning of the 21st April 1839 found the Maharaja in a most unhealthy house. No reason can be traced from the records as to why the afflicted Maharaja was living in that house when he could have used his magnificent palaces at Lahore, Cashmere, Multan and Adinanagar. Dr. Steele thus graphically describes the wretched state of the house:—(90) "His house is situated close on the edge of a filthy canal from which the roads are constantly wetted and the surrounding grounds kept in a swampy state. It is in an atmosphere sufficient to create disease among the most healthy. He sleeps in a small tent adjoining which (within 10 yards) there is a small patch of rice cultivation. This is constantly under water. I need not say that the smell arising from the damp earth and confined air is anything but pleasant. The house consists of two small rooms, in each room there is but one door communicating with the open air and the door of the larger room is only about 3 feet by 2½. This room is kept dark to which he retires during the heat of the day. It will be observed that the fresh air cannot circulate in these rooms and in addition to the constant unpleasant exhalation from the damp floor and walls, the rooms are constantly crowded with his followers". At the doctor's suggestion the Maharaja was removed (91) to a healthier abode on the 9th May 1839.

39. Doctor Steele carefully examined the Maharaja from the 22nd April to 2nd May 1838 and his report on the Maharaja's health is embodied in the Sec. O. C. 7th August 1839 No. 10. The concluding portion of the Doctor's report runs thus:—"Is the Maharaja likely to live long? I think 'not long.' He is in that state that the least unfavourable accidental occurrence in the form of disease may be decisive and likely to be so. He may live for a short time, perhaps for a few months or even a year, but the latter period, I think, improbable, although I consider that he has still some remaining energy and the natural powers of his constitution to be great and his rallying powers, from what I have heard, to be extraordinary."

40. Within two months of the report of Doctor Steele, Ranjit Singh passed away peacefully at Lahore on the evening of the death. 27th June 1839 (92), 'retaining his mental faculties unimpaired to the last.' It appears from the records that "to avoid the sudden effect on his troops and the population, the news of the Maharaja's death was at first attempted to be kept secret."

41. "During the few last days of his illness" the documents say "prayers were said and offerings were sent to the different shrines for his recovery, and His Highness bestowed in charity—money, jewels and other property to the value of nearly 50 lakhs of rupees (93). Among his jewels,

(90) Sec. O. C., 7 August 1839, No. 10.

(91) *Ibid.*

(92) Sec. O. C., 4 December 1839, No. 78.

(93) Sec. O. C., 4 December 1839, No. 78.

he directed the well-known Kohinoor (94) to be sent to the temple of Jagannath at Puri, muttering at the same time the great truth that "no one carried with him his worldly wealth and that such a bequest would perpetuate my name."

42. The scene that took place in the *harem* after the death of the Maharaja is thus described by the *Punjabi Akhbar* (95) of the 27th June 1839:—"The death of the Maharaja being known, the Ranees (queens), Kunwar Kharak Singh (the Maharaja's son), Raja Dhiyan Singh (the Maharaja's Prime Minister), Jemadar Khusal Singh and others raised their cries and lamentations, tearing their hair, casting earth on their heads, throwing themselves on the ground and striking their heads against bricks and stones. This continued during the night by the side of the corpse. Every now and then looking towards the corpse their shrieks were shriller. The gates of the Fort were shut but Kunwar Kharak Singh ordered the shops in the city to be opened and business to be carried on." We find, however, that "the people had closed their shops and had shewn every mark of grief at the death of their chief" (96).

43. In the *Akhbar* of the 28th June, 1839 and in some other documents the following account of the funeral ceremony is given:—The Maharaja's body having been bathed with the Ganges waters, dressed in rich clothes and decorated with ornaments was placed on an adorned sandalwood bier (*bawan*) in shape like a ship. It was wrought with gold and the sails and flags were made of the richest silk. The bier was carried by a number of men in procession in the garden at Dhoolkote situated in the Fort, near the Huzuri gate, adjoining to Gooroo Argin's residence. Several notable men of the kingdom threw costly shawls on the bier. Rani Koondun (commonly known as Rani "Gadun" or "Guddhun"), daughter of Raja Sansar Chand of Katoch, Rani Hurderee, daughter of the Raja of Nurpur, Rani Raj Kour, daughter of *Sirdar* Jai Singh of Chynpur—about 7 miles from Amritsar and Rani Baawalee (*sic*) came out of the harem and approached the corpse and resolved to burn themselves with their husband. For the first time during their lives these Ranis came out unveiled with richest apparel and jewels worth many *lakhs* of rupees on their person and accompanied the procession bestowing every now and then some portion of their jewels and ornaments to the singers and the Brahmins. In front of each Rani, at a distance of two or three paces, walked a man with his face turned towards her and moving backwards. He held a mirror before the Rani in front of whom he walked, that she might see that her features were unaltered and that her resolution to sacrifice her life had no effect on her appearance. After the Ranis followed seven slave-girls. All seemed quite indifferent to the awful fate which awaited them, and which, indeed, they had themselves sought.

(94) *Ibid*; but Misser Beli Ram who was in charge of the Treasury, objected to its delivery on the ground of its being "State" property.

(95) Pol. O. C., 24 July 1839, Nos. 13-14; See also, Sec. O. C., 4 December 1839, Nos. 78-9.

(96) Sec. O. C., 4 December 1839, No. 78 (para. 9).

44. The drums beat mournfully, the musicians sang melancholy dirges and the sound of their instruments spread gloom throughout the whole assembly. At last the bier reached the funeral pile. It was constructed of sandal-wood and aloe in the form of square, six feet high. The ascent to the pile was by means of a ladder. On the pile were strewed inflammable substances, such as cotton seeds, etc. The high officers of the State first ascended the pile and helped in gently removing the royal body from the bier and respectfully placing it in the middle of the pile. Rani Koondun sat down by the side of the corpse and placed the head of the deceased on her lap while the other 3 Ranis with seven slave-girls seated themselves around with every mark of complacency on their countenances. Raja Dhiyan Singh prepared to burn himself with the Maharaja, and it was with very great difficulty that he was persuaded to refrain from sharing the fate of the *Satees*. Thereupon the Raja proposed to leave the world and go to Benares after a year, which was complied with. Kunwar Kharak Singh also did his utmost to dissuade the *Satees* to relinquish their intention but they did not heed the appeals of the Kunwar nor of the other Chiefs. Rani Koondun taking Raja Dhiyan Singh by the hand and placing it on the breast of the corpse made him swear never to be a traitor to Kunwar Kharak Singh. Kharak Singh was, in like manner, made to swear to be led away by no misrepresentations of interested parties to renounce Raja Dhiyan Singh; and the torment due for the slaughter of a thousand kine were imprecated on him who should violate his oath.

45. At 10 o'clock approaching, the time fixed by the Brahmins, fire was set to each corner of the funeral pile (97). In a moment the whole mass was a complete blaze, the flames of which ascended to a prodigious height. As the flames shot up, the faces of these devoted women, still calm and serene, were visible for the last time. A moment so and smoke and fire enveloped them. In a little while the sacrifice was consummated—the great Maharaja, his four wives and seven slave-girls were a holocaust. A small cloud appeared in the sky over the burning pile and having shed a few drops passed away. Raja Dhiyan Singh attempted four times to jump into the burning pile but was withheld by the mourning crowd. After the ceremony was over, Kunwar Kharak Singh and other chiefs bathed themselves in the Ravi and returned to the Huzuri Garden.* Fifteen pairs of *sharwls* and 20 *ducats* were given to the singers of the holy hymns of Baba Nanak and a thousand rupees were distributed among the poor.

(97) Capt. Osborne in his *Journal* says that the Chief Rani herself set fire to the pile; but Syad Muhammad Latif in his *History of the Punjab* says that it was the Maharaja's son, Kharak Singh.

* Near this garden stands Ranjit Singh's mausoleum, a curious mixture of Hindu and Muhammadan ideas, being a compromise between a *Hindu Samadh* and a Muhammadan tomb. In the centre is a raised stone platform on which is a marble lotus flower, surrounded by eleven smaller ones. The centre flower covers some ashes of the Maharaja, the others those of four wives and seven slave girls who perished on his funeral pyre.

46. The huge pile continued to smoulder for two days. On the third day the bones and ashes of the dead were picked out by the members of the royal household and were put in separate urns. Preparations were then made to send them to the Ganges at Hurdwar. The remains of the Maharaja and those of the four *Ranis* were placed in different decorated palanquins to be conveyed by the guards to their final destination. As the procession passed the head-quarters of the districts in British territory, due military honours were paid to his ashes (98). We find in the letter (99) of H. Torrens, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, to the Deputy Collector of Customs of Shaharanpore, dated Simla, the 4th July 1839, that the Government issued strict orders "to all the officers of Customs forbidding their interfering in any way with the Sikh priests, *Sirdars* and others who would cross the British frontier with the ashes of the late Maharaja". Records (100) further enlighten us that the palanquin containing the remains of the Maharaja passed through Ludhiana after crossing the Sutlej on the 11th July 1839 and that Mr. M. P. Edgeworth, Assistant Political Agent of that place, laid two pairs of *shawls* valued at Rs. 475 (101) on the conveyance as a mark of respect.

47. The Governor-General, Lord Auckland, also lost no time in shewing due honour to the memory of the late Maharaja. The following General Order, dated Simla (Political Department) the 4th July 1839 (102) was issued:—"The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General having this day received from the Offg. Political Agent at Loodhiana official announcement of the melancholy intelligence of the demise of His Highness Maharaja Runjeet Singh, Ruler of the Punjab on the 27th ultimo is pleased in testimony of his deep regret for the loss of this faithful and highly valued Ally of the British Government to direct that minute guns to the number of 60 corresponding with the years of the deceased be fired from the ramparts of the Forts of Delhi, Agra and Allahabad, and at all the principal stations of the army throughout the North-Western Provinces. The ceremony will be also observed at the Frontier stations of Ludhiana and Ferozepore." A mission of condolence was also sent (103) to Kharak Singh at Lahore "consisting of the Offg. Political Agent at Ludhiana and some officers of his personal staff".

48. So lived and died the "Lion of the Punjab". "It was his extraordinary talent alone" says Marshman, "which reared the edifice of Sikh greatness and if it had not been hemmed in by the irresistible power of the East India Company would undoubtedly have established a new and magnificent empire in Hindoosthan. By indefatigable exertions he succeeded in

(98) Pol. O. C., 14 Aug. 1839, No. 34.

(99) Pol. O. C., 4 Sept. 1839, No. 79.

(100) Pol. O. C., 14 Aug. 1839, No. 34.

(101) Pol. O. C., 14 Aug. 1839, No. 36.

(102) Pol. O. C., 11 Sept. 1839, No. 96.

(103) Sec. O. C., 4 Dec. 1839, No. 80.

creating an army 80,000 (104) strong with 300 (105) pieces of cannon, superior in discipline, valour and equipment to any force which had ever been seen in India under Native colours." When he died the Sikh power in India was at its zenith and " then it exploded " says General Sir J. H. Gordon " disappearing in fierce but fading flames."

A. F. M. ABDEL ALL

(104) Ranjit Singh's army was composed of :—

(1) The French legion, clothed and exercised in the European manner ...	8,000 men.
(2) <i>Gorchelis</i> and <i>Gorcher Khas</i> , Cavalry armed with muskets, wearing armour, and paid either in money or lands ...	4,000 „
(3) Disciplined battalions ...	14,940 „
(4) Cavalry in various fortresses ...	3,000 „
(5) Infantry <i>Pultans</i> (Regiments), equipped variously ...	23,950 „
(6) Contingent of the <i>Sirdars</i> in Cavalry ...	27,014 „
<hr/>	
	80,904 men.

To this 34,014 horses and 101 elephants may be added.

For further information on this subject the reader is referred to Persian MS. No. 622 of the Khuda Bukhsh Library at Bankipur.

(105) According to Captain Murray the number of cannons were 376 besides 370 *Jinjals* or long pieces of ordinance which used to be carried by camels. For fuller details see Pol. O. C., 14 Feb. 1838, Nos. 57-8.

Causerie Sur L'histoire de Chandernagor

faite le 14 Mai 1925

à la Société Littéraire de Calcutta.

IL y a un peu plus d'un mois, dans le salon de la Résidence de Chandernagor, j'avais le grand plaisir d'entretenir de l'Histoire de la petite dépendance française du Bengale un auditoire attentif et bienveillant.

On m'a prié de refaire ici cette petite causerie.

C'est lui faire en vérité beaucoup trop d'honneur et j'en éprouverais, même, quelque confusion si, cet honneur, je ne le reportais tout entier sur le petit territoire qui rappelle aux uns la Patrie lointaine, aux autres pays dont ils ont apprécié la culture et dont ils parlent la langue avec une pûreté dont les Français ne peuvent manquer d'être profondément flattés.

Profitant d'un jour de liberté, un groupe de sociétaires a donc visité Chandernagor; la visite a brève, trop brève pour moi, si fier de la recevoir.

Ils venaient, mes visiteurs, rechercher des vestiges du passé, évoquer des souvenirs dont le charme vieillot contraste avec la vie hâtive et bruyante de la grande cité voisine; c'était plus un pèlerinage qu'un déplacement de touristes curieux et, dans son vieux logis solitaire et un peu triste, l'Administrateur leur a, je crois bien, semblé d'un ermite retiré du monde, un ermite dont la grâce souriante des visiteuses, et la cordialité charmante des visiteurs de ce lundi de Pâques très ensoleillé, a singulièrement troublé la fragile vocation—grâce leur en soit rendue et aux hôtes charmants qui me procurent ce soir le plaisir de retrouver ceux qui ont apporté dans ma maison un rayon de gaieté dont elle reste encore illuminée.

De souvenirs de la grande époque, on retrouve en vérité peu de traces dans notre petite ville—le temps, les luttes entre rivaux ont fait leur oeuvre. Une petite histoire reste à écrire, celle des vieilles maisons qui restent encore, celle de Chevalier notamment. Je m'étais promis de fouiller, dans ce but, les archives locales, le temps m'a manqué pour cela et je ne le regretterai jamais plus qu'aujourd'hui.

Mais, il est certain que le calme de certaines de nos rues se prête à un retour sur le passé.

On y verrait sans trop d'étonnement apparaître le tricorne des officiers du Bien-aimé (1), les vieilles gens y sont polies, discrètes comme au temps jadis—Sur l'Hoogly, bordé de jolies demeures, les péniches ressemblent à s'y méprendre à celles des vieilles gravures d'antan, et, les singulières petites

(1) Surnom donné au Roi Louis XV.

voiles roses qui profilent leurs silhouettes gracieuses sur l'horizon mauve et violet de Chinsurah au soleil couchant, pourraient bien être celles de la Compagnie des Indes.

Vous n'avez pu contempler les effets du soleil couchant sur l'Hoogly—c'est un enchantement que n'arrivent pas à gâter les tuyaux d'usine, les murs blancs implacables les estacades en fer de la rive gauche.

Et le Square Dupleix où viennent jouer les petites pensionnaires du Couvent dont la vieille petite chapelle évoque l'époque de la prospérité et de la gloire, la place minuscule, la rue ombragée qui mène à l'église, l'église elle-même, la mairie, le Collège Dupleix, tout cela constitue un ensemble si discret, si paisible, si français même, qu'on serait tenté d'y retrouver, sous le clair soleil du Bengale, un coin d'une de ces petites villes où il vous a plu de vous arrêter au cours d'une randonnée d'auto.

Le Quai Dupleix bordé de vieux hôtels aux murs grisâtres, mais à l'aspect plein de dignité, manque d'ampleur, mais non de charmes et l'on peut penser à son aise sur ses bancs verts qui regardent la puissante cité industrielle de la rive opposée, bruyante, active, toutes cheminées fumantes et dont les mille lumières se reflètent le soir dans l'Hoogly noir.

Quand on s'enfonce dans la ville indienne, on découvre des rues silencieuses, bordées d'imposantes demeures marquées de la patine du temps—quelques jolies maisons modernes, des villas délabrées au milieu de jardins touffus, peu de clinquant beaucoup de grisaille, comme il convient à une vieille petite ville arrêtée dans sa croissance.

Car, depuis un siècle et demi, Chandernagor a renoncé à la comparaison avec sa grande voisine dont elle admire le prodigieux essor—C'est maintenant une très vieille dame, au costume suranné qui raconte ses jeunes années; elle est née sous le Grand Roi, dont l'arrière petit fils et successeur eût pour elle quelques sourires; puis on l'oublia vite, tant d'autres graves préoccupations assiégeaient les dirigeants pendant cette époque troublée. Cet oubli lui fût funeste, elle ne s'en releva jamais.

Les aimables radotages de la vieille dame sont imprimés dans de gros livres très savants. Avec respect, j'en ai feuilleté quelques uns.

Peut être certains d'entre vous en ont ils fait de même et je crains d'arriver bien tard dans un terrain très battu où il reste peu de choses à glaner.

Aussi bien n'ai-je pas l'intention de vous instruire, en chevauchant mon nez des savantes besicles de l'historien. Je n'y parviendrais guère.

Je me propose seulement de remuer quelques souvenirs et de rappeler brièvement le rôle joué par notre petite ville dans l'histoire de l'Inde au XVIIIème siècle.

Le mérite des hommes qui ont écrit cette histoire fut très grand, car leur tâche fût rude et ingrate.

Aujourd'hui que l'ère des luttes est passée, que notre activité colonisatrice s'est portée sur d'autres points du monde, nous pouvons, sans aucune rancœur, revenir sur le passé et relire ensemble, entre rivaux, des

pages qui furent glorieuses et où chacun des nôtres, anglais et français, luttait avec tant de tenacité et de foi pour la grandeur de son pays.

La date de la fondation de Chandernagor demeure incertaine. Les noms de Boro, Gondolparah, Kolchini qui sont aujourd'hui ceux des quartiers de la ville figurent dans des écrits fort anciens, mais il paraît établi qu'avant le XVII^{ème} siècle, le nom de Chandernagor ne figurait dans aucun d'entre eux, le groupement de ces divers villages sous leur dénomination actuelle datant semble-t-il de l'occupation française.

On a voulu voir dans la forme même de la ville, comparée à celle d'un croissant de lune (*Chandra*) l'origine de l'appellation, d'autres auteurs indiens ont affirmé que le lieu où est installé notre petite ville était célèbre par l'existence de forêts de santal dont le préfixe "Chander" ne serait qu'une corruption.

Quoiqu'il en soit, un notable Hindou de Chandernagor qui consacre une partie de son temps et de sa grosse fortune à l'étude de l'histoire et à l'amélioration de sa cité natale affirme posséder la preuve que le nom a été donné par les Français, probablement par Deslandes, le véritable fondateur du Comptoir.

Le même auteur s'étonne, d'ailleurs, qu'on ne fasse pas une part plus grande au rôle de Duplessis qui, en 1674, a entamé et fait aboutir les négociations avec le Représentant de l'Empereur Mogol. En réalité, le Firman du Grand Mogol concédant le territoire n'a été notifié qu'en 1693. Duplessis était un simple officier sur un bateau du Roy; pour Deslandes il fut le collaborateur intime, puis le gendre de François Martin, fondateur de Pondichéry; il vint à Chandernagor pour y asseoir notre première installation dans le Bengale, il est naturel que son nom ait éclipsé celui du modeste officier venu en négociateur avant lui, mais qui n'a rien créé.

Souffrez, d'autre part, que je garde un faible pour Deslandes qui est un de mes compatriotes—I! est, en effet, né à Tours en 1640—I! est juste d'ajouter que le nom de Duplessis a lui-même un parfum de terroir tourangeau qui éveille le souvenir du plus astucieux de nos Rois, Louis XI, le Chatelain de Plessis les Tours, Me sera-t-il permis aussi de rappeler que Dupleix, le grand Dupleix, né par hasard à Landrecies, dans le Nord de la France avait toute sa famille en Poitou à Chatellerault à quelques kilomètres de Tours.

La venue dans ces pays lointains de français de nos vieilles provinces que l'esprit d'aventure n'aurait pas dû animer au même point que ceux des côtes dont les fenêtres s'ouvraient sur l'immensité de la mer n'est elle pas une preuve de l'intérêt qu'apportaient nos ancêtres, même les plus terriens, à la colonisation lointaine.

On trouve dans une lettre particulière écrite, par François Martin, de Pondichéry, aux Directeurs de la Compagnie, l'indication très nette de l'importance attribuée au nouvel établissement du Bengale "le négoce du Bengale, est un négoce riche par les soies, les étoffes de soie, les étoffes fines que vous pourrez en tirer. Ces marchandises n'occuperont pas beaucoup

de place dans vos vaisseaux; cette remarque est importante afin de conformer le port des navires au capital que vous y chargerez et avoir égard à la qualité des marchandises que vous donnerez ordre de vous envoyer.....".

Mais c'est l'entreprise du Siam qui reste encore dans le golfe du Bengale: la grande affaire du moment, c'est dans ce pays qu'opérera d'abord Deslandes, sous la haute autorité de son beau-père.

On se consacrera plus particulièrement au Bengale lors que les tentatives sur le Siam, d'abord très encourageantes, auront causé, dans la suite, quelques désillusions.

Il faut considérer l'arrivée, en Septembre 1688, de Deslandes, sur le "Saint Nicolas" comme la première tentative sérieuse d'installation des Français dans le Bengale.

Les débuts furent d'ailleurs très favorables et Deslandes regrettait que le manque de fonds ne lui permit pas de faire davantage.

De Hooghly où il s'était d'abord installé, Deslandes avait envoyé des agents créer les loges de Dacca et de Cassimbazar et il avait consolidé son installation à Balassor où l'on prenait des pilotes pour remonter le Gange.

Mais il ne pouvait conserver son centre d'opération dans un établissement étranger; il songea alors à revendiquer la possession du terrain acheté par Duplessis en 1674 à quelques distances d'Hoogly.

En Avril 1690, on commença la construction des murs de clôture, de bâtiments et de magasins dont le Père Jésuite Duchetz, aumônier, fût l'architecte et pour lesquelles une dépense de 26000 roupies était jugée nécessaire—on construisait à peu de frais dans ce temps là.

En Juillet 1692, les travaux étaient en partie achevés. Pour la première fois, dans un mémoire adressé par Martin, Deslandes et Pellé aux Directeurs de la Compagnie, le nom de Chandernagor remplace celui d'Hoogly par lequel on avait l'habitude de désigner notre principal établissement du Bengale.

Il m'est impossible d'entrer dans le détail des démêlés des agents de la Compagnie française avec ses voisins et rivaux.

La France était en guerre avec la Hollande que les armées de Louis XIV avait envahie et l'action des Français était naturellement entravée par les Hollandais, maîtres du Golfe du Bengale que nos bateaux ne fréquentaient que par intermittance.

Parfois, une victoire navale rendait quelque sécurité que venait ensuite compromettre une nouvelle incursion ennemie.

Les bateaux de la Compagnie profitaient d'une éclaircie favorable pour descendre ou remonter le Gange. Après la prise de Pondichéry par les Hollandais en Septembre 1693, Martin qui s'était retiré à Batavia s'embarque le 13 Novembre sur une flute (1) avec sa femme et sa petite fille et, après bien des avatars, arrive enfin à Chandernagor où il retrouve son gendre Deslandes.

(1) Petit bateau.

Chandernagor devient alors le centre de l'action française dans l'Inde et Martin dont l'énergie n'est pas abattue par les échecs ne cesse d'appeler l'attention du Gouvernement de Versailles sur la nécessité de continuer la lutte.

Malheureusement, les guerres d'Europe où le Roi est de plus en plus entraîné par le jeu des coalitions font que les interventions sont insuffisantes, à longs intervalles et partant stériles.

Les établissements du Bengale, encombrés de marchandises qu'ils écoulent difficilement en raison de l'insécurité des mers souvent bloquées par les flottes ennemies, ont une existence précaire. Néanmoins, on vit ainsi jusqu'à la signature de la paix et Martin et Deslandes réussissent quand même à maintenir leur situation même dans les établissements secondaires de la Compagnie.

Leurs difficultés n'étaient pas d'ailleurs dues uniquement à la rivalité causée par les guerres européennes, mais aussi à l'anarchie régnant dans l'empire Mogol.

En 1695, plusieurs rajahs se soulèvent contre l'Empereur, Hoogly est cernée par les rebelles.

On devine dans quelle situation se trouvaient les étrangers au milieu de ces luttes intestines.

Le Directeur de l'établissement hollandais lui-même s'en émeut, il propose une action commune pour la défense de la neutralité des européens. Le projet n'a pas de suite pratique et chacun prend ses précautions et fortifie ses comptoirs.

C'est l'origine des ouvrages qui sont devenus, dans la suite, la défense de Chandernagor.

En 1697, Candernagor avait l'aspect d'une petite forteresse, on devait faire des sorties, repousser les pillards à coups de canons, nos commerçants pacifiques avaient quitté leurs livres de caisses pour se transformer en guerriers, rôle qui leur convenait assurément fort peu, mais qu'ils remplissaient, néanmoins, avec bravoure, les écrits du temps en font foi.

D'autre part, Martin négocie avec le grand Mogol, lui fait des visites, des presents—mais l'autorité de l'empereur perd du terrain, l'empire est à son déclin et la mort d'Aurengzeb et les rivalités de ses fils précipitera la chute.

En 1697, à la suite de la paix victorieuse de Ryswick, Pondichéry est rendu à la France; une flotte vient dans le Bengale chercher Martin pour le conduire et reprendre pied dans cette ville, notre situation dans l'Inde se trouve affermie.

On signale des opérations commerciales particulièrement heureuses, mais Deslandes se plaint des difficultés qu'il éprouve à se procurer des marchandises—les luttes, les excès des rebelles ont dispersé les tisserands, beaucoup sont morts—cependant, Chandernagor reste encore le plus gros centre d'approvisionnement de Pondichéry.

Le 1^{er} Janvier 1701, celui qui avait créé la ville, qui avait maintenu cette occupation pendant toute la période difficile dont je viens de parler,

Deslandes rentrait en France après un long et laborieux séjour dans le Bengale. Il avait la satisfaction de laisser tout en ordre, la situation rétablie, les comptoirs en activité.

Il remettait le commandement à Du Livier, son second, le conseil se composait pour le Bengale, de Pellé, Chef de Balassore et de Regnaut, le plus ancien marchand.

Il avait passé douze ans à Chandernagor et vingt ans dans l'Inde et au Siam. Avec Martin, le Fondateur de Pondichéry, c'est la figure la plus intéressante des débuts de notre occupation dans l'Inde. Le Gouvernement royal reconnût ses services en l'anoblissant et en lui confiant d'importantes fonctions à Saint-Domingue. Il mourut en 1707.

La reprise de l'état de guerre rendit encore une fois difficile notre situation dans le Bengale, le blocus du Gange par les Hollandais ayant repris.

A la mort de Martin survenue en 1708, Du Livier quitta Chandernagor pour le remplacer à Pondichéry, il était resté sept ans dans le Bengale, sept années à peu près tranquilles d'ailleurs et relativement prospères.

Je passe sur les années qui suivirent pour arriver tout de suite à la période marquée par la grande figure qui jette sur Chandernagor une figure fulgurante. Le 8 Août 1731, Dupleix arrivait à Chandernagor sur le "Saint Pierre".

Il y restera jusqu'en 1742 et, le moins qu'on puisse dire, est que jamais cette ville ne connût une période de plus grande activité et de plus grande richesse que sous sa direction.

On a porté sur Dupleix des jugements divers, ceux de beaucoup de ses compatriotes ont été souvent défavorables, son caractère dominateur, sa personnalité accusée et son orgueil lui ayant attiré de nombreuses animosités dont on retrouve la trace dans sa volumineuses correspondance avec la Compagnie.

Ses démêlés avec l'Administration de Pondichéry, avec les Directeurs de la Compagnie eux-mêmes qui n'étaient pas épargnés sont restés fameux.

Très appuyé à Paris par sa famille, riche lui-même ce qui ne l'empêchait pas d'ailleurs d'être très chatouilleux sur les questions d'intérêt pécuniaire, il se permettait toutes les critiques et les attaques les plus violentes contre ses rivaux.

Parti de France au début du XVIII^{ème} siècle, il avait vécu en dehors de la société légère et spirituelle née sous la régence et qui a caractérisé le règne de Louis XV, il n'avait rien du "talon rouge" (1), ni du "roué" (2). C'était un homme austère et sans gaîté, dont l'intelligence solide n'était ni gracieuse, ni aimable.

Ce n'était pas non plus un sentimental—son mariage contracté à un âge relativement avancé, fut sans doute un mariage de raison et la froide raison et le bon sens furent certainement les seules règles de sa vie.

On peut dire qu'il a vécu en dehors de son siècle et ce n'est pas, sans

(1). (2) Termes employés pour désigner les courtisans du Régent Philippe d'Orléans detenant le pouvoir pendant la minorité de Louis XV.

nul doute, une des moindres causes de ses échecs la plupart de ses contemporains ne l'ayant pas compris et lui-même n'ayant pas compris la transformation qui s'était opérée dans l'état social de son pays.

Le temps a eu vite fait de rétablir à son véritable niveau la mémoire de celui qui, en dépit de certaines erreurs, fut un très grand colonisateur et un très grand français.

Le nouveau Directeur des établissements français du Bengale était jeune (trente quatre ans), son ambition était grande et tout le monde, même ses ennemis, semblait s'accorder à la trouver légitime. Néanmoins, il dût attendre longtemps le poste ambitionné de Directeur Général des établissements de l'Inde qu'il n'obtint que douze ans plus tard en 1734.

Ne vous attendez pas à trouver, dans les papiers de Chandernagor, les récits d'actions d'éclat accomplies par Dupleix, on faisait surtout des affaires, ne l'oubliez pas, à Pondichéry, notre grand marchand se fit soldat, développa largement son programme ambitieux, ici, il fut seulement négociateur et négociateur habile—on cherchait à se procurer des influences dans les milieux indiens, on manœuvrait dans un dédale d'intrigues où chaque nation s'efforçait de jouer son rôle; les Hollandais qui furent longtemps les plus riches et les plus puissants et dont la puissance commençait à décliner, les Anglais qui, disposant de ressources considérables et ayant à leur tête des hommes de la plus grande valeur, comme Clive, prenant déjà une place prépondérante.

Mais, il convient de le noter, en dépit de petits incidents inévitables et sans gravité, les agents des diverses nations entretenaient encore les meilleures relations. La guerre qui éclata à nouveau en 1713 ne semble pas avoir troublé cette harmonie, on voisinait, des amitiés se liaient, Stackhouse était alors Gouverneur de Calcutta, en 1732, il lui arrive de s'associer avec Dupleix en divers armements et la plus parfaite loyauté mutuelle semblait présider à ces opérations profitables pour les uns et les autres.

On a retrouvé une lettre dans laquelle Dupleix annonçait l'envoi des caisses de liqueurs, les bons vins de France consommés ensemble contribuaient à la bonne harmonie, on se brouille rarement après un bon repas, et les relations se maintinrent ainsi jusqu'au moment où la politique des peuples vint à dominer celle des individus et où la rupture se produisit.

En ce qui concerne les Hollandais, ces relations restèrent également amicales, malgré un incident qui faillit tout gêner et qui se produisit au cours d'une visite de Dupleix à Chinsurah, entre un de ses officiers nommé Le Gâtinais et un français au service des Hollandais. Dupleix prétendait se faire livrer celui-ci, ses voisins s'y refusaient—on finit par s'entendre, mais non sans peine.

Bien qu'il évitât toute dépense somptuaire et fût très ménager des deniers de la Compagnie, Dupleix faisait cependant des améliorations dans la ville, créait un hôpital, construisait des magasins, des casernes pour sa petite garnison.

Il habitait ui-même, une maison en briques très modeste, au coin de l'actuelle rue de Bénarès et de la rue appelée encore aujourd'hui Rue des Grands Escaliers—Il a vécu aussi dans une maison en face du Tribunal actuel sur l'emplacement de l'Hôtel Carlton.

A quelques distances de Chandernagor, il possédait aussi une maison de campagne qu'il estimait l'une des plus belles de l'Inde, surtout disait-il " par sa situation gracieuse " et où il avait coutume de recevoir les Anglais de Calcutta avec lesquels il était en relations d'affaires.

Certains auteurs supposent qu'il s'agit déjà de Goretty qui, sous ses successeurs, sous Chevalier particulièrement, devait être célèbre par les réceptions brillantes qui s'y donnaient.

Ganger de l'argent, faire des affaires, tel semble avoir été le grande préoccupation de Dupleix, pendant cette première partie de son existence; il manifesta cependant du goût pour les bibelots et les curiosités locales, de belles agathes, des boutons ou poignées de cannes, des ouvrages en ivoire, des médailles, il s'intéressait dans une de ses lettres à un missionnaire de ses amis à des monnaies du Népal.

Agissait-il en collectionneur ou en spéculateur? On ne saurait trop le dire, mais il voulait, disait-il " tout de bon goût et rien de commun " On n'est pas ambitieux et désireux de parvenir, sans épouever le besoin de soigner ses relations. Le goût du bibelot était très répandu en France déjà à cette époque—les hauts fonctionnaires de la Compagnie n'étaient pas insensibles à l'envoi d'une de ces pièces indiennes très à la mode à l'époque.

Mais Dupleix, par contre, était peu curieux des monuments que tout européen se hâte de visiter, il est possible qu'il n'ait jamais vu ni Agra, ni Benarès. Je vous l'ai dit, c'était un marchand, un politique, un homme de sens pratique, sans aucun penchant à l'exotisme.

Il eut très vite fait d'éveiller Chandernagor de sa médiocrité. Les déconvenues ne lui manquèrent cependant pas, de temps en temps un bateau perdu corps et biens, on recommençait, on luttait.

Je vous épargnerai le récit de ces luttes, non plus que des démêlés de Dupleix avec la Compagnie, avec Dumas (Directeur à Pondichéry) qu'il n'aimait pas et auquel il ne le cachait guère, avec ses voisins, avec le Mogol et ses officers. Tout était occasion de conflits et il faut convenir que le caractère de notre personnage n'aidait pas toujours à leur solution.

En 1741, un évènement survient dans la vie de Dupleix, il épouse à 44 ans la veuve de son ami Vincens qui en avait 34.

Madame Vincens avait eu 12 enfants dont cinq seulement vivaient encore et une seule (une fille) était mariée à Madras.

Sans être pauvre, elle n'était pas riche et en l'épousant il prenait à son compte de lourds charges.

Il ne faisait en somme que rendre plus légitime la protection qu'il s'était engagé à exercer sur la famille du disparu qui était son ami.

On sait le rôle que joua Madame Dupleix sur la fortune de son mari qu'elle aida puissamment dans sa tâche.

A son frère qui en France s'effrayait de ce mariage avec une inconnue, indigne peut être de porter le nom de Dupleix, un contemporain écrivait

“ que sa belle-soeur était charmante qu’ elle se faisait généralement aimer qu’elle était douce et de beaucoup d’esprit et qu’elle pouvait être mise au rang de ce qu’il y avait de mieux ” le frère fut, semble-t-il rassuré et dans la suite put constater qu’on ne lui avait pas trop vanté les qualités de sa belle-soeur.

Aux côtés de Dupleix, elle allait faire montrer à Pondichéry de plus brillantes qualités. Le 14 Janvier 1742, Dupleix réalisait enfin son plus cher désir, il devenait Directeur Général à Pondichery en remplacement de Dumas rentré en France.

Les onze années de présence de Dupleix à Chandernagor sont les plus brillantes de l’histoire de cette ville. Il est juste d’ajouter que jamais la situation ne fut non plus aussi favorable—les luttes européennes n’avaient pas encore d’écho dans l’Inde. Les choses devaient malheureusement changer de face sous peu.

Quelques années en effet, la situation européenne venait rendre plus difficiles les relations entre Anglais et Français dans le Bengale et même dans toute l’Inde.

D’autre part, Aliverdhi Khan qui avait réussi à maintenir la paix entre ses hôtes étrangers vint à mourir, son petit fils Sirajoud Daula monta sur le trône et entreprit la lutte contre les Anglais. Calcutta fut pris par lui, par surprise en 1756, il fut repris l’année suivante par Clive et Watson, mais cette épisode brouilla Anglais et Français, les premiers ayant accusé les seconds d’avoir favorisé les agresseurs.

Bientôt la rupture inévitable fût consommée, Clive envoya au Directeur de Chandernagor un ultimatum qui resta sans réponse.

Dépourvus de tout secours de la Métropole trop occupée elle même par la lutte contre une coalition formidable en Europe, les Dirigeants français de Chandernagor auraient préféré à un conflit armé une entente leur permettant de conserver leur neutralité.

Les fortifications en ruine de Chandernagor offraient une maigre défense contre l’armée de Clive et la flotte de Watson—les propositions pacifiques de Renault, Directeur de nos possessions françaises dans le Bengale ne furent pas écoutées et 4000 européens et cipayes marchèrent sur Chandernagor par terre, pendant qu’une flotte commandée par Watson remontait la rivière pour attaquer la ville de tous les côtés à la fois. Malgré les essais de diversion par le nord tentés par Renault en entraînant le Nabab dans la lutte, celle-ci était trop inégale et la ville devait succomber.

J’ai trouvé dans un ouvrage anglais le récit de ce siège. Du côté français 500 cipayes commandés par de Tury auquel étaient adjoints quelques officiers de marine du petit bateau de la Compagnie “ Saint Contest ”; on arma aussi les employés de la Compagnie et les habitants capables de porter les armes et qui constituèrent un corps de volontaires; mais on manquait de spécialistes pour mettre la ville en état de défense en améliorant les fortifications et il était trop tard pour en faire venir d’Europe.

L'âme de la défense fut De la Vigne Buisson, de chaque côté on enrolait des volontaires, deserteurs anglais dans le camp français, déserteurs français dans le camp anglais.

C'est enfin que Renault, son fils qui commandait les volontaires, de la Vigne de Buisson d'autres, déployèrent une activité et une bravoure extrême, la ville capitula après un siège de douze jours. L'action décisive fut, dit le narrateur anglais, celle des bateaux de Watson et il loue fort le courage déployé par les défenseurs qui luttèrent jusqu'à ce que pris de toutes parts ils durent se rendre.

La capitulation fut honorable, mais néanmoins, c'était la ruine de l'oeuvre de Deslandes et de Dupleix et de tous les habitants riches installés à Chandernagor—la ville ne se releva jamais de ce désastre, les fortifications furent rasées, Renault écrivait " toute la colonie est dispersée et les habitants cherchent un asile la plupart sont allés se réfugier les uns à Chinsurah, les autres en territoire danois et à Calcutta. Cette dispersion étant causée par la misère dans laquelle nos compatriotes sont réduits, leur pauvreté que je ne puis secourir, des larmes me sortent des yeux à ce spectacle, le plus cruel que je puisse voir, de gens qui se sont si bravement sacrifiés pour les intérêts de notre Compagnie et de notre nation ".

Les soldats et les marins anglais rendaient hommage à la bravoure malheureuse des vaincus et l'un d'eux écrit " la conduite des Français en cette occasion a été digne de la bravoure bien connue de cette nation ".

Dans la suite, le jeu des traités, des guerres heureuses nous rendirent la libre possession de Chandernagor et de ses dépendances, mais les rêves de création d'un grand empire franco-indien dans le Bengale semblaient à jamais évanouis.

Le dernier agent du Roi, Chevalier a cependant laissé le souvenir d'un homme entreprenant et fastueux qui recevait avec beaucoup de bonne grâce dans une maison qui existe encore et surtout à Goretty, dans une très jolie villa dont les derniers vestiges ont été détruits il y a peu d'années.

Dans toute l'Inde, affirme-t-on, il n'était bruit que de la splendeur des réceptions de Goretty, du " jardin de l'amitié ", on y marivaudait dans le goût du temps, des idylles se nouaient sous les ombrages, l'une d'elle est restée fameuse, elle finit assez mal d'ailleurs, celle de Francis Grand et de la jolie Catherine Wórlée, fille du Capitaine de port de Chandernagor et qui, à la suite de vicissitudes nombreuses, devint la femme de Talleyrand, Prince de Benevent, le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de Napoléon, l'une des figures les plus curieuses de la Révolution et de l'époque napoléonienne.

Le portrait de l'héroïne qu'en a fait Madame Vigée-Lebrun, le grand peintre connu, s'il n'est flatté, explique bien des choses—l'aventure fit beaucoup de bruit à l'époque, duel procès en divorce, et le sévère Dupleix n'eut pas manquer de s'offusquer que Goretty eut connu les débuts d'une semblable aventure.

Chevalier vit venir la révolution à Chandernagor. On raconte que quelques matelots et quelques habitants turbulents, brûlant du désir de proclamer la République, se présentèrent chez lui alors qu'il passait tranquillement son *week end* à Goretty, vidèrent sa cave en signe d'allégresse

et joyeusement se rendirent à Goretty. Chevalier put heureusement s'enfuir, pour revenir ensuite, l'effervescence passée.

Dans la suite, un comité à l'instar des départements français pendant la période révolutionnaire fonctionna à Chandernagor. On a conservé les procès-verbaux des séances de ce comité et ils ne manquent pas de saveur.

L'état de guerre ayant repris avec l'Angleterre, un détachement de troupes anglaises fut envoyé à Chandernagor dans le but de s'emparer de Chevalier. Celui-ci put cependant s'enfuir grâce à l'ingéniosité de sa femme la comtesse de Serigny, qui réussit à détourner l'attention des soldats anglais.

Je ne voudrais pas terminer cet exposé sans dire un mot des plans élaborés par Chavalier et la Cour de Versailles pour reprendre les projets de Duplex. Le moment paraissait favorable pendant les guerres de l'indépendance d'Amérique qui avaient été un succès pour nos armes.

Les flottes anglaises occupées au loin se trouvaient dans une situation aussi défavorable que les nôtres pendant les grandes guerres de Louis XV.

Des centaines d'aventuriers français servaient les princes indiens, particulièrement les Maharattes.

La "Calcutta Historical Society" a publié en 1918 dans sa revue "Bengal Past and Present" une étude fort intéressante sur ce sujet et que je n'ai pas le loisir d'analyser, même brièvement, ici.

On y parle de ces aventuriers audacieux qui guerroyaient pour le compte des princes indiens où étaient les confidents et les conseillers de ceux-ci pour le compte de Chevalier.

Gentil à la Cour Maharatte, le Médecin Visage Lionel du Jarday à Delhi, Dolisi, Conte de Modave, Sombre dont la fortune était énorme et qui avait sous ses ordres 300 européens et 2 ou 3000 cipayes avec des canons, Dieu, Soulier, Du Lallee, de Cressi et des centaines d'autres, à la recherche de l'aventure et dont Chevalier s'efforçait de discipliner l'effort en vue de ses projets.

Le plus distingué fut Madec dont le rôle fut vraiment important, comme intermédiaire entre la Cour de Versailles et le Grand Mogol qui offrait à Louis XVI la cession du delta de l'Indus contre l'envoi dans l'Inde d'un contingent important de soldats français.

J'ai eu entre les mains un ouvrage sur René Madec le "Nabab René Madec" comme on l'appelait publié en 1894.

L'offre fut sérieusement accueillie en France, mais l'explosion trop rapide de la guerre de 1778 empêcha une étude précise de la coopération en question.

Néanmoins le plan d'attaque du Bengale existe, il comportait outre la création d'un établissement français sur le Sindh inférieur, le siège de Fort William et la prise de Calcutta.

Dans son plan de restauration de la puissance française en Orient, Napoléon a repris les idées de Madec.

La Restauration, et les Gouvernements qui l'ont suivi fait de l'alliance anglaise une des bases de leur politique; les plans sur l'Inde ont donc été

abandonnés pour d'autres projets dans des régions où les Français ont porté avec succès leur activité colonisatrice.

Depuis que tous ces faits sont entrés dans le domain de l'histoire de deux pays, de nombreux historiens français et anglais se sont plus à en relater les moindres incidents, tout à l'honneur de nos nationaux qui ont écrit dans ce pays des pages glorieuses et inoubliables.

Depuis 110 ans que la fin des guerres de l'Empire a marqué la reconciliation de nos deux pays, reconciliation qu'une récente et horrible tourmente a transformé en une franche et loyale amitié, la plus parfaite tranquillité n'a cessé de régner dans nos établissements restaurés à la France par les traités de 1815.

Plus que personne je m'en rejouis et vous remercie Mesdames et Messieurs de la bienveillante attention avec laquelle vous avez bien voulu écouter cet exposé très succinct et très incomplet d'une grande époque.

VALENTIN CHAMPION,

Administrateur de Chandernagor.

Mai 1925.

A Fragment of Indian History.

(From the French of M. de Voltaire)

[The following article has been translated by Mr. Akhay Kumar Ghose from "Fragmens sur les Révolutions aux Indes, La mort du Comte Lally, et la poursuite du Comte de Moraiyes", par M. de Voltaire", published in 1774: being Article XII; "Ce qui s'est passé aux Indes avant l' arrivée du général Lally—L' histoire d' Angria—La défaite des Anglais en Bengale".]

ABOUT a hundred years ago a Maratto, named Conogi Angria, who had commanded some vessels belonging to his nation against those of the Emperor of India, became a pirate, and infesting the coast of Bombay, he plundered indiscriminately his countrymen, the neighbouring people, and in general all who traded in that Sea. On this coast he easily took possession of some little islands, or rather rocks of difficult access. One of these he fortified with a ditch cut in the solid rock. The bastions were strengthened by walls ten or twelve feet thick, and mounted with cannons. Here he deposited his booty. His son and grandson continued the same trade, and with great success. One entire province lying at the back of Bombay was subdued by the latter. Vagabond Marathas, Indians, renegade Christians, and Negroes flocked in great numbers to this piratical republic, which became almost equal to that of Algiers. The fortune of the Angrias affords an instance of what valour may effect in the prosecution of conquests both by sea and land. We behold two robbers successively establishing powerful governments in the North and South of India. The one is Abdalah in the neighbourhood of Cabool, the other Angria on the coast of Bombay. But how many states have risen to great eminence and dominion from beginnings equally inconsiderable?

The honour of the English required that they should send out fleets against new conquerors. This war (for it was a contest of sufficient importance to merit such a name) was begun by Admiral James in 1755, and concluded by Admiral Watson. In it Captain Clive, so much celebrated since that time, distinguished himself by his military talents. All the retreats of those illustrious robbers were successively taken. In their capital fortress was found an immense quantity of merchandize, two hundred cannons, a large arsenal with gold, diamonds, pearls and spices, to the amount of a hundred and fifty millions of livres. What could scarcely be collected from the whole coast of Coromandel and from Peru, was deposited in this rock. Angria himself escaped; but his mother, wife, and children, were taken prisoners by Admiral Watson, who, as we may well believe, treated them with humanity. The youngest of the children, on hearing that Angria could not be found, threw his arms round the Admiral's neck, saying, "Then you will be my father, instead of my captor." Admiral Watson,

realising through an interpreter the meaning and import of the words which the child spoke, was so much affected as to shed tears. He became in effect a father to the whole family. This fortunate and memorable achievement of the British arms was counterbalanced by a disaster in their principal settlement in Bengal.

A dispute arose between the English factory at Calcutta upon the Ganges, and the Soubah of Bengal, who imagined from the confidence with which they appeared to act, that they had a considerable garrison in that place; the city however contained only a Council of Merchants, and about three hundred soldiers. Against this small force marched the most powerful prince in India, with sixty thousand troops, three hundred cannons, and three hundred elephants.

Drake, the Governor of Calcutta, was a man very different from the celebrated Admiral of that name. He professed the religion of those respectable Pennsylvanians whom we distinguish by the title of quakers. This primitive sect, who inhabit Philadelphia in America, and whose ideas of humanity reflect reproach on the other quarters of the world, entertain the same horror as the Bramins at shedding human blood. They consider war as a crime. Drake was an intelligent merchant and an honest man. Hitherto he had concealed his religion; but now declaring it, the Council insisted that he should go on board a vessel in the Ganges for safety.

Who could imagine that the Moguls in the first attack would lose twelve thousand men? Accounts of the engagement however confirm it. If such be really the fact, nothing can more fully evince what we have so often mentioned regarding the superiority of the Europeans. But the garrison could not possibly hold out long: the city was taken, and all the inhabitants were put in irons. Among the captives, a hundred and forty-six English officers and factors were thrown into a dungeon called the "Black Hole." They experienced the fatal effects of hot and confined air; or rather of the vapour that continually perspired from their bodies. A hundred and twenty-three men were destroyed by this noxious exhalation in a few hours.

Mr. Holwell, Deputy-Governor of Calcutta, was one of those who escaped the effects of this sudden contagion. He, with twenty-two officers of the factory, all in a deplorable situation, was carried to Mouxadabad the capital of Bengal. The Soubah having compassion upon them ordered their irons to be struck off. Holwell offered him a ransom, but the prince refused to accept it, saying, that they had already suffered too much, without being obliged to pay for their liberty.

This is the same Holwell who has acquired not only a knowledge of the language of the modern Bramins, but also that of their forefathers of antiquity. It is he who has since written such valuable memoirs of India; and who has translated some sublime passage of the first book composed in the sacred language, more ancient than those of Sanchoniathon of Phoenicia, the Egyptian Mercury, and the earliest legislators of China. The learned Bramins of Benares reckon these books to be about five thousand years old.

On this occasion, gratitude induces me to acknowledge how much the world is indebted to a man who made a voyage to India merely for the sake of information. He has unveiled to us what lay concealed for so many ages: he has done more than Pythagoras, and Apollonius of Thiana. We would advise every person who is desirous of instruction on the subject, to read attentively the ancient allegorical fables, the original source of all the fables which have been substituted in the room of truth in Persia, Chaldea, Egypt, Greece, and among the smallest and most contemptible herds, as among the greatest and most flourishing nations. These objects are more worthy of the attention of a wise man, than the disputes about muslin and calico, which we shall be obliged, however, to mention later on in the course of this examination.

We must not be understood as if we gave implicit faith to every thing which Mr. Holwell relates. No person whatever is entitled to such unlimited credit. But it must be said that he has proved that the Gangarides built up a system of mythology, good or bad, five thousand years ago. The learned and judicious Jesuit Parennin has demonstrated that the Chinese were re-united into a community about that period: and if at that time they were, they must necessarily have been so before; great colonies are not formed in a day. It becomes not us, who were only barbarians when these people were learned and refined, to dispute their antiquity. It is possible, that amidst the multitude of revolutions which happen in the world, Europe might have cultivated the arts and known the sciences before Asia; but we find no evidence of such a fact, and Asia is full of ancient monuments.

To return to the revolution in India; the Soubah, whose name was Suraja-Doulah, was by birth a Tartar. It is said, that after the example of Aurangzebe, he had formed the design of making himself master of all India. That he was extremely ambitious there is no question. We are further informed that he looked with contempt on his feeble and pusillanimous Emperor, and that he hated equally all those foreign merchants who came to take advantage of, and increase the confusion of the empire. After taking the fort of the English he threatened those of the Dutch and the French. They purchased their safety for sums of money, which may be considered as very moderate in that country: the French for about six hundred thousand livres; and the Dutch, as being more opulent, for twelve hundred thousand franks. At this time the Soubah entertained no design of destroying them. He had in his army a kinsman of his own and of the great Mogul, a rival in ambition, and more to be dreaded than a company of merchants. In this transaction above-mentioned, Suraja-Doulah conducted himself in the same manner as several Turkish Viziers and Sultans of Constantinople, who have sometimes declared the resolution of driving all the ambassadors of the powers of Europe, and all their factories, out of the Turkish dominions, but have permitted them to remain in the country on paying dearly for the privilege.

As soon as the dangerous situation of the English on the Ganges was known at Madras, they immediately despatched to their assistance by sea

all the men who could be levied capable of bearing arms. M. de Bussy, who was in that quarter with some troops, availed himself of the opportunity. He and M. Law seized all the English factories beyond Masulipatam, on the coast of the great province of Orissa, between those of Golconda and Bengal. This seasonable success restored in some degree the strength of the Company, which otherwise must have soon been destroyed.

In the meantime Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, conquerors of Angria and deliverers of the whole coast of Malabar, arrived also at Bengal by the sea of Coromandel. They were informed on their way that there was no returning to the city of Calcutta without coming to an engagement with the enemy; in consequence of which they crowded all their sails. Thus in a little time the flames of war spread from Surat to the mouth of the Ganges, over a territory about a thousand leagues in circumference, as happens so often in Europe among Christian princes, whose interests are perpetually changing and clashing with each other, to the misfortune of mankind.

When Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive arrived in the road of Calcutta, they found that the good quaker governor of the city, and those who took refuge with him, had retreated into some crazy barks on the Ganges, whither the enemy did not pursue them. The Soubah had a hundred thousand soldiers, with cannons and elephants, but no boats. The English who were driven from Calcutta waited patiently on the Ganges, till assistance arrived from Madras; the Admiral supplied them with provisions, of which they stood in need. The Colonel, joined by the officers of the fleet and the sailors who increased his little army, made haste to encounter the whole force of the Soubah: but meeting only with one Raja, governor of the city, he put him to flight. This strange governor, instead of retreating into the city, went and alarmed the prince's camp, telling them that the English whom he had met were very different from those that had been taken at Calcutta.

If we may credit the memoirs of the times and the public papers, Colonel Clive confirmed the prince in this opinion, by writing to him in the following terms. "An English Admiral, who commands an invincible squadron, and a soldier, whose name you know, are come to punish you for your cruelties. You had better make atonement to us than wait the issue of our revenge." He might well hazard this bold and oriental style. The Soubah knew that his competitor, whom we have already mentioned, as a very powerful raja in his army, and whom he dared not to arrest, was already negotiating secretly with the English. He answered this letter only by giving battle. The victory was undetermined between an army consisting of about eighty thousand men, and one of about four thousand, half English, and half seapoys.

Thereupon they entered into a treaty, in which he who had most address would reap the best advantage. The Soubah restored Calcutta and the prisoners, but he maintained a secret correspondence with M. de Bussy; and Colonel, or rather, General, Clive on his part negotiated likewise a

private treaty with the Soubah's rival. The name of this rival was Jaffier; his aim was to ruin the Soubah his kinsman and dethrone him. The intention of the Soubah was to destroy the English with the assistance of the French, his new friends, and afterwards also to destroy the latter. Here follow the articles of the singular treaty which the Mogal Prince Jaffier signed in his tent.

In the presence of God and his prophet, I Jaffier, &c., swear that I will observe this convention as long as I live.

I shall consider the enemies of the English as my own, &c.

To indemnify them for the loss which they have sustained, I shall give a hundred lacks (twenty-four millions of French livres). To the inhabitants, fifty lacks (twelve millions). To the Moors and the Gentoos in the service of the English, twenty lacks (four millions eight hundred thousand livres). To the Armenians who traded in Calcutta, seven lacks (sixteen hundred and fifty thousand). The whole amounting to about forty-two millions, four hundred and eighty thousand.

I shall pay these several sums immediately on their making me Soubah of those provinces.

The Admiral, the Colonel, and four other officers (whose names are mentioned) may dispose of this money as they think proper.

This article was stipulated with the view of saving them from all reproach.

Besides these presents, the Soubah patronized by Colonel Clive, extended greatly the territories of the Company. M. Dupleix obtained nothing like such advantages, when he created nabobs.

We do not find that the English officers swore to this treaty on the Bible: perhaps they had none.

The Soubah Suraja-Doulah on his part actually sent pecuniary assistance to Messieurs de Bussy and Law, while his rival Jaffier gave nothing but promises. He would have caused Jaffier to be assassinated; but that prince kept too strong a guard round his person for the project to succeed. The one and the other, amidst all the excess of their mutual hatred and distrust, took a solemn oath of inviolable friendship on the Alcoran.

The Soubah himself, deceived and willing to deceive, led Jaffier against the English troops, which could not be called an army. At length, on the 20th of June [1757] a decisive battle was fought between him and Colonel Clive. The Soubah was defeated: they took from him his cannon, his elephants, his baggage, his artillery. Jaffier commanded a separate camp: he did not engage, but cunningly kept aloof, that it might be in his power to avail himself of the issue of the action: if the Soubah proved victorious, he would join with him; if the English were conquerors, theirs was the cause which he would espouse. The successful party pursued the Soubah from the field of battle as far as his capital Mouxadabad, which they entered immediately after him. He himself eluded the pursuit, and wandered a miserable fugitive for some days. Colonel Clive saluted Jaffier as Soubah

of the three provinces of Bengal, Golconda, and Orixá, a territory equal to any of the finest kingdoms in the world.

Suraja-Doulah the dethroned prince fled alone, without help and without hope. Being informed of a cave where lived a holy faquir (a Mahometan hermit) he took refuge in the habitation of this saint. He was struck with astonishment at finding the faquir to be a culprit whose nose and ears he had formerly caused to be cut off. The prince and saint were reconciled by means of some money; but to profit as much as possible by the incident, the faquir gave notice to the conqueror of the fugitive's retreat. Doulah was taken, and condemned to death by Jaffier. His prayers and his tears availed nothing, and he was executed without mercy, after pouring water upon his head, according to a whimsical ceremony, practised from time immemorial on the banks of the Ganges, to the waters of which people have always ascribed very singular properties and virtues. This is a sort of purification imitated since by the Egyptians: it is the origin of the lustral water among the Greek and the Romans. Among the papers of this unfortunate prince they discovered all his correspondence with Messrs. Bussy and Law.

During the course of this expedition General Clive hastened to the conquest of Chandernagor, a post of the greatest importance which the French had at that time in India; filled with a prodigious quantity of merchandize, and defended by a hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, five hundred French soldiers and seven hundred blacks.

Clive and Watson had not more than four hundred men at most; yet at the end of five days the place was obliged to surrender. The capitulation was signed on the 23rd of March 1757, by the General and Admiral on one side, and by Fournier, Nicholas, la Potière, and Caillot on the other side. The Commissaries requested that the conqueror should permit the Jesuits to remain in the city. Clive replied, that the Jesuits could not be indulged with that exemption, but would have liberty to go wherever they pleased. The merchandise found in the warehouses was sold for a hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling.

The whole success of the English in this part of India was chiefly owing to the enterprise of the celebrated Clive. The highest respect was entertained for his name at the Court of the Great Mogul, who sent him an elephant loaded with magnificent presents, and a patent appointing him a Raja. The King of Great Britain created him an Irish Peer. It was he who in the late debates on the subject of the East-India Company, answered those who demanded an account of the millions which he had acquired with glory: "I have given one to my secretary, two to my friends, and reserved the remainder for myself."

In another session he said, "No person shall attack my honour with impunity: let my judges not forget their own." Almost all the principal servants of the East-India Company have behaved in the same manner. Their profusion has equalled their riches. The proprietors suffer, but England gains; since at the expiration of a few years each returns to spend

in his own country what he has amassed on the banks of the Ganges, and the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar: just as the immense treasure obtained by Admiral Anson on his voyage round the world, and those which other Admirals have acquired by captures, increased the opulence of the nation.

Ever since the victory of Lord Clive, the English have ruled in Bengal; and all the Nabobs who attacked them have been repulsed. In London, however, fears have been entertained lest the Company should be ruined by the excess of their good fortune, as the French have been by discord, famine, the inadequacy of assistance which was moreover late in arriving, and the continued change of ministers, who having confused and wrong ideas of Indian affairs, blindly reversed the orders of their predecessors, which had been issued with the same indiscretion. All the misfortunes of the State necessarily affected the Company. The Government could not sufficiently assist them when the French were defeated in Germany, when in America they lost Canada, Martinico, and Guadaloupe, and in Africa, Goree, with all their settlements on the Senegal; when many of their ships were taken, and lastly, when the King and the citizens were reduced to sell their plate to raise money for the payment of the army; a poor resource in the midst of so great calamities.

Calcutta Historical Society.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held in the office of the Society at 3, Government Place, West, on Wednesday the 16th December 1925.

On the motion of Rai Bahadur Pramatha Nath Mullick seconded by Rai Bahadur Moni Lall Nahar, Sir Evan Cotton was voted to the Chair.

Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, the Hony. Secretary, read the annual report.

REPORT FOR 1925.

The Calcutta Historical Society has now entered upon the 19th year of its existence after going through many vicissitudes in the past. The Committee are greatly indebted to Sir Evan Cotton, C.I.E., for his untiring zeal and warm devotion to the cause of the Society and for the regular issue of its journal *Bengal: Past and Present*. But I have to announce with regret that the Society is about to be deprived of his invaluable services as Sir Evan is expected to sail for England early in January next. Mr. A. N. Nicholson the present Honorary Treasurer of the Society will also be leaving for home on furlough for twelve months early next year, and he will not therefore be able to carry on the duties of our Treasurer which he has so creditably performed during the past year.

During the year under review the total number of members of the Society was 202 against 199 of the previous year. But I am sorry to report that the subscriptions of 30 ordinary members are in arrears.

The work of indexing volumes 9-18 of *Bengal: Past and Present* has been completed and sent to the press. It will take about three months to print the volume. The printing charges for 250 copies will approximately be, according to the estimate of the "Calcutta Fine Art Cottage," Rs. 634. The indexing of the remaining volumes is in progress.

The Committee gratefully acknowledge the generous contribution of Rs. 500 by Raja Janaki Nath Ray to the Society's Index Fund during the year under review.

The balance at the bank up-to-date, as will appear from the Financial Statement submitted by the Honorary Treasurer, amounts to Rs. 2,181-4-8, out of which the sum of Rs. 1,181-4-8 belongs to the Index Fund.

I regret to report that death has claimed one of the warmest friends of the Society in the distinguished person of the Marquess Curzon of Kedleston. Lord Curzon consistently showed the greatest possible interest in the work of the Society from the day of its constitution. Many valuable contributions from his facile pen will be found scattered through the pages of *Bengal: Past*

and Present. There was no more enthusiastic supporter of the Calcutta Historical Society and its Journal than the late lamented Lord Curzon. In a letter from him which was read at the inaugural meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society, on April 27, 1907, he wrote:—

"I am glad to hear of your effort to interest people in the historical associations of Calcutta. There is no subject of the class more worthy of attention or more full of romance. There is also no subject more commonly neglected and, I had almost said, despised. How many of the residents of Calcutta, I wonder, are aware of the exact spot where Warren Hastings fought his duel with Francis, of the identity of the various houses at Alipore which were owned or lived in by Hastings, of the house in which William Makepeace Thackeray was born, of the different buildings which were occupied as Council Houses by the Government of India, of the strange and romantic history of the big house at Kidderpore. I devoted myself more particularly while in India to collecting the materials for a history of the two Government Houses in Calcutta and at Barrackpore, always intending to work them up in the form of a book. I hardly know whether I shall ever find time for this: but the raw material is in my possession."

Lord Curzon, it will be observed, specially hoped for the co-operation of Indian gentlemen in the advancement of the Society and said that "in many cases the Indian intellect possess a remarkable aptitude for historical, antiquarian, or topographical research, and living always in the country they enjoy advantages not open to birds of passage like the majority of Englishmen". The preservation and restoration of monuments and places of historical interest of ancient and mediæval India formed one of the special feature of his administration. To him we owe the Imperial Library, the Victoria Memorial Hall, the restoration of the Holwell monument, the identification of the outlines of Old Fort William and the commemoration of historic houses. His keen interest in the spread of education in India is too well known to bear repetition in this report.

By the death of Rai Lalit Mohan Singh Rai and Khan Bahadur Mirza Shujaat Ali Beg the Society has lost two more of its prominent members during the year under report.

THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Mr. A. N. Nicholson, the Hony. Treasurer in submitting the Financial Statement said that some of the outstanding subscriptions will have to be written off, and by personal influence of the members the rest might be realised.

Raja Kshitendra Nath Deb Rai Mohashaya of Bansbaria in moving the adoption of the report and the financial statement eulogised the invaluable services rendered to the Society by Sir Evan Cotton.

Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth seconded the motion which was carried unanimously.

The Chairman announced that Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.A., M.B.E., F. R. Hist. S. (Principal, Hooghly College), had agreed to take up the

editorial charge of the Society's Journal. On the proposal of Sir Evan Cotton the old office-bearers were re-elected and Dr. Hutton and Raja Janaki Nath Roy were appointed Vice-Presidents of the Society.

Rai Bahadur Pramatha Nath Mullick then proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Evan Cotton.

Rao Bahadur S. V. Chari seconded the vote of thanks and it was carried with acclamation.

Sir Evan Cotton acknowledged these sentiments suitably by a feeling reply and expressed his own appreciation of the co-operation he had received largely from the Indian members of the Society in reviving the Society and improving its Journal. After a vote of thanks to Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali (the Honorary Secretary) and Mr. A. N. Nicholson (Honorary Treasurer) for their valuable services to the Society the meeting dissolved.

CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY INDEX FUND ACCOUNT.

Income & Disbursements for the year ended 31st December 1925.

INCOME.	Rs. As. P.	DISBURSEMENTS.	Rs. As. P.
<i>Balance at 1st January 1925—</i>		<i>Honorarium to Clerks re: Indexing</i>	<i>300 0 0</i>
Fixed Deposit with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.	800	<i>Balance at 31st December 1925—</i>	
On Current Account with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.	199	Fixed Deposit with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.	1,000-0-0
	999 0 0	On Current Account with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. 230-5-7	1,230 5 7
<i>Interest</i>	<i>31 5 7</i>		
<i>Donation</i>	<i>500 0 0</i>		
	Rs. 1,530 5 7		Rs. 1,530 5 7

CALCUTTA,
28th January 1926.

Examined and found correct,
(Sd.) LOVELOCK & LEWES,
Chartered Accountants,
Hon. Auditors.

GENERAL FUND ACCOUNT.

INCOME.	Rs. As. P.	DISBURSEMENTS.	Rs. As. P.
<i>Balance at 1st January 1925—</i>		<i>Disbursements—</i>	
Fixed Deposit with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ...1,000 0 0		<i>Printing & Blocks</i>	<i>2,230 3 0</i>
On Current Account with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.	20 7 6	<i>Wages and Honorarium</i>	<i>390 0 0</i>
	1,020 7 6	<i>Postages</i>	<i>200 0 0</i>
<i>Subscriptions realised—</i>		<i>Stationery</i>	<i>25 10 0</i>
Arrears	230 0 0	<i>Sundries</i>	<i>96 7 3</i>
1925	2,315 14 9	<i>Bank Charges</i>	<i>2 14 0</i>
1926 in advance	40 0 0	<i>Balance at 31st December 1925—</i>	
	2,585 14 9	Fixed Deposit with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd. ...1,000 0 0	
<i>Sales</i>	<i>381 0 0</i>	On Current Account with Mercantile Bank of India, Ltd.	30 10 1
<i>Interest</i>	<i>8 6 1</i>		1,030 10 1
	Rs. 3,975 12 4		Rs. 3,975 12 4

CALCUTTA,
28th January 1926.

Examined and found correct,
(Sd.) LOVELOCK & LEWES,
Chartered Accountants,
Hon. Auditors.

The Editor's Note Book.

BEGINNINGS OF THE INDIAN MUSEUM.

OFFSPRING OF ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL: EARLY WORK OF CALCUTTA SCHOLARS.

(By A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., Trustee and Honorary Secretary, Indian Museum.)

THE Imperial Museum of Calcutta owes its origin to the initiation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; consequently a knowledge of the latter is necessary to trace the birth and growth of the institution. Little did the great Oriental scholar and linguist, Sir William Jones, think, when he first laid the foundations of the "Asiatic Society of Bengal," in Calcutta in 1784, that in the course of time it would assume such proportions and that eventually out of it—with the steady progress of learning and science in India—another institution would arise in the shape of the Indian Museum, which in the point of usefulness and magnitude was destined to cast its progenitor in the shade.

At first the Asiatic Society had no permanent dwelling of its own. As the many relics and curiosities sent by men, interested in its growth, began to accumulate, the want of a suitable repository for their preservation began to be seriously felt and ultimately by the help of the Government a suitable piece of land was acquired at the corner between the Park Street and Chowringhee on which the building for the Society was built and which continues to the present day.

The proposal for forming a Museum in Calcutta was first put forward by Dr. Nathaniel Wallich, a Danish botanist, who in February, 1814, wrote a letter to the Society strongly supporting the formation of a Museum in Calcutta and holding out the assurance of his active and whole-hearted co-operation. The members of the Society resolved to establish a Museum in the Society's premises, to be divided into two sections, *viz.* (a) archæological, ethnological and technical and (b) geological and zoological. The librarian of the Society was placed in charge of the former and Dr. Wallich took charge of the latter. The scope of the Museum expanded until it became a storehouse of all articles throwing light on Oriental manners, customs, history and also on the peculiarities of art as well as containing the products of Nature in the East.

Pioneer Scholars.

Strenuous efforts were made to collect "inscriptions, on stone or brass, ancient monuments, either Hindu or Muhammadan, figures of Hindu deities,

ancient coins, ancient manuscripts, instruments of war peculiar to the East, instruments of music, vessels used in religious ceremonies, implements of Indian art and manufacture, animals peculiar to India, dried or preserved skeletons or particular bones of such animals, birds stuffed or preserved, dried plants and fruits, mineral or vegetable preparations peculiar to Eastern pharmacy, ores of metals of every description and other articles serviceable to history and science."

Under the supervision of Dr. Wallich and aided by the sympathy of such scholars as Colonel Stuart, Dr. Tytler, General Mackenzie, Mr. Brian Hodgson, Captain Dillon and Babu Ramkamal Sen, the Museum soon established its prosperity.

After the resignation of Dr. Wallich, paid curators were appointed on salaries ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 200 a month. The Society up to 1836 used to pay the salary of the Curator from its own purse; but as its bankers, Palmer and Co. became insolvent in that year, the Society was obliged to memorialize the Government for a grant from the public funds. A temporary grant of Rs. 200 per mensem payable from the 1st August, 1837, was sanctioned for the up-keep of the existing museum and the library of the Society.

After the sanction of the grant Dr. J. T. Pearson of the Bengal Medical Service was appointed Curator, who was shortly after succeeded by Dr. McClelland. Mr. Edward Blyth took up the post when Dr. McClelland resigned. By their letter of the 18th September, 1839, the Court of Directors sanctioned a grant of Rs. 300 a month for the salary of the Curator and for the general maintenance of the Museum and also authorized the Government of India to sanction grants from time to time for special purposes.

Museum of Geology.

Since 1835 the attention of the Government of India was directed towards the development of the mineral resources of the country, especially by the satisfactory working of the Ranigunge Coal Mines and they began seriously thinking of opening a Museum of Economic Geology in 1840 in the Society's rooms. The Museum was greatly enriched by the presentation of valuable and rare geological specimens collected by Captain G. B. Tremeneere, who went to England in 1841 for that purpose. For a separate Curator of this Geological Museum, the Government of India sanctioned an additional grant of Rs. 250 a month.

Up to 1856 this Museum of Economic Geology continued to occupy the premises of the Society. In that year, however the portion of the collection owned by the Government of India was removed to No. 1, Hastings' Street in connection with the Geological Survey of India then recently established. This removal set free a considerable amount of space in the Society's rooms which was fully utilized for the display of the archaeological and zoological collections which had grown with surprising rapidity under the able management of Mr. Blyth.

With the progress of time, however, it became apparent that the further development of the Society would ere long come to a halt on account of the limited space and funds at its disposal. In 1858 the members of the Society submitted a proposal to the Government of India "for the foundation of an Imperial Museum in the metropolis to which the whole of the Society's collections except the library might be transferred." The Government of India could not accede to the Society's request on grounds of economy; at the same time they expressed their readiness to relieve the Society of its congestion by taking over the geological and palæontological collections from its charge. This answer did not satisfy the Society and the members decided to memorialize the Secretary of State for India in Council direct for the establishment of a Museum in Calcutta.

On May 22, 1862, the Government of India informed the Society that "the time had arrived when the foundation of a Public Museum in Calcutta which had been generally accepted as a duty of the Government may be considered with a view to its practical realization. With regard to the locality of the Museum they wrote:—"The Governor-General-in-Council considers that it may most advantageously be placed on the site now occupied by the Small Cause Court in Chowringhee Road and that some such building as that which has been recently proposed by Dr. Oldham (himself a member of the Society's Council) for the Government Geological Museum will be well adapted to the purposes of the General Museum." They further suggested that "The Indian Museum" would be the appropriate name of the proposed Institution.

An Imperial Institution.

As a result of correspondence between the Asiatic Society and the Government which lasted till the middle of the year 1865, it was arranged that the Zoological, Geological and Archæological collections under the Asiatic Society should be transferred to the Board of Trustees for the proposed Museum and that the Government should provide accommodation for the Society in the Museum Building to be held by it as an independent body. The Indian Museum Act of 1866 accorded legislative sanction to these conditions.

In the meantime the Trustees of the Indian Museum with a view to the perfection of a very valuable collection of meteoric stones and irons already collected by the Asiatic Society, and the Geological Survey Department requested the Madras and Bombay Governments to help them by presenting portions of any meteorites that might fall within their jurisdictions. In making this proposal the Board of Trustees confessed that it was their desire that "the collection that would be available in the Indian Museum might be, next to those of the British Museum and Vienna, the most perfect series extant and thus might offer to mineralogists for the purposes of comparison and description, such as was available nowhere else but in London and Vienna."

The Museum—hitherto the property of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—now ceased to be so and became an "Imperial" institution. It was not,

however, till 1875 that the Museum building—a masterpiece of the building art in India—was ready for occupation. The rare and precious collections accumulated since 1814 in the Asiatic Society by the enthusiasm of a laborious and unselfish band of workers were then transferred to the Museum building. It soon became evident to the Society, however, that for some cogent reasons it would not be advisable for them to occupy the Museum building and it refused to leave its old premises.

With the occupation of the building the question of organizing the Museum followed. In this laborious task Dr. John Anderson, the first Curator, and his assistant, Mr. James Wood-Mason devoted themselves with enthusiasm. The work occupied them more than two years and it was not before 1878 that the building was thrown open to the public.

This impressive building which has a frontage of three hundred feet facing the Maidan was designed by Mr. Walter B. Granville and was completed in 1875 at a cost of Rs. 1,40,000. This, in brief, is a sketch of an Institution that stands as a lasting memorial to the ungrudging efforts of a few scientists and educationists who devoted their all, in order that others may benefit in the years to be.

THERE has been for long time past some amount of mystery attaching to the person of Thomas Lyon, whose name is commemorated by Lyon's Range. The late Dr. C. R. Wilson, in one of his latest articles, expressed the view that Lyon, or Lyons, was a mere fictitious name under which, by

Origin of Lyon's a piece of jobbery, Barwell came into possession of Range. the land now occupied by the Bengal Secretariat (Writers' Buildings), and the historian's indignation was further aggravated by the recollection that a portion of his land was the consecrated ground on which old St. Anne's Church once stood. Some time ago, the lady who contributed to our first issue an article on "The North Side of Tank Place", called my attention to a notice of a law suit brought against the Company by a contractor of the name of Thomas Lyon; and reported in Vol. II of Seton Karr's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*.^{*} Miss Drummond asked me to search the records on her behalf, and I am afraid that my inability to go further into this particular matter of research has been the cause which has necessitated the delay in completing her articles on "Tank Place". I was familiar with the fact that a builder of the name of Thomas Lyon erected the walls which enclose the Presidency Jail on the maidan. During the last few weeks I have met with Mr. Lyon more than once in the pages of Hyde's notes. On 11th January 1782, Hyde records of Lyon: "He is a house builder and is said to have made a large fortune, and is now going to England, and intends to carry this appeal with him."

MR. R. C. STERNDALÉ in his *Historical Account of the Calcutta Collectorate* gives a transcript of the pottah relative to this property, "the

^{*}From *Bengal: Past and Present*, p. 421. The Supreme Court in this cause gave judgment in favour of Mr. Lyon for sicca Rupees 25,000 "for superintending the Bhaugerutty River."

copy of which ' he writes, " was so faded as to be undecipherable, but was restored by the aid of a solution of nut gals." The document reads as follows:—

A pottah is hereby granted unto Mr. Thomas Lyons for the purpose of erecting a range of buildings for the accommodation of the junior servants of the Company for two pieces or parcels of waste ground to the north of the Great Tank, situated or lying and being between the Old Fort, the Great Tank, the Court-house and the New Play-house, and separated by the great road leading from Mr. Holwell's monument by the south front of the Court-house to the Salt Water Lake, and known by the name of Great Bungalo Road, agreeable to the annexed plan of the said two pieces of ground which are distinguished by the red colour, bounded by the red lines A B C D in No. 1, and E F G H in No. 2, and are of the following dimensions:—

No. 1 in the Dhee Calcutta lying to the southward of, and parallel to the Great Bungalo Road, is a regular piece in length from east to west or D to B 214 yards, and breadth from north to south or from B to A 35 yards, containing six bighas and four cottahs of the Hon'ble Company's coomar or untenanted ground, the rent sicca rupees 18-9-7 per annum.

No. 2 in Bazar Calcutta lying to the northward of the same road, the side G E parallel to the road is in length 214 yards, the opposite side H D is in length 218 yards, the east end G H is in breadth 92 yards, and the west end E F is in breadth 69 yards, containing 10 bighas 13 cottahs and 8 chittacks of the Honourable Company's coomar or untenanted ground, the rent sicca rupees 32-0-5.

The boundaries are as follows:—To the eastward or from C to H, a road of 60 feet width parallel to the west front of the Court-house, and the angle at H to be cut off, so as to leave the road in that part of it at the same breadth of 60 feet till its junction with the north road. To the westward, or from A to F, a line drawn from the west end of the play-house at right angles with the Great Bungalo Road. To the south, or from C to A, a road of 15 feet wide leading from the north-east angle of the railing of the Great Tank towards the Old Fort, parallel to and at the distance of 35 yards from the Great Bungalo Road. To the northward from F to H, a road 52 feet wide leading from the south railing of the Play-house by Mr. Huggins' house to the China Bazar.

The Great Bungalow Road, 100 feet wide, passing in its present direction between B and E the west end, and D and G the east end of the said two pieces of land, a line drawn from Mr. Holwell's monument to pass through the middle of the road.

To preserve uniformity and prevent nuisances, permission is given to Mr. Lyons to rail in the manner described in the plan by the yellow colour and lines to those two pieces of land which terminate to the westward of the two pieces granted to him. In the Cutchery of the Calcutta Division, this eighteenth day of November 1776.

But even Sterndale was under the spell of mystery. "I have not," he writes, "been able to trace how the transfer from Thomas Lyons to Richard Barwell took place, whether by sale, or whether, as appears possible, the transaction was a *benamée* one in the first instance." The following letter which by the courtesy of the Government of India I am enabled to publish here, will set the matter at rest.

(1783. O. C. 2nd June, No. 16.)

To—The Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Etc.

No date.

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,—The term of the lease executed by Mr. Lyon to the Hon'ble Company of the nineteen houses in Calcutta occupied by the Company's Civil Servants being expired and Mr. Lyon having sold the buildings which are now become the property of Mr. Barwell's children, I beg leave as one of the attorneys of Mr. Barwell to propose to your Hon'ble Board a renewal of the lease for the space of five years upon the terms of the former deed.

If this proposal meets with the approbation of your Hon'ble Board, I entreat you will be pleased to order the Hon'ble Company's Attorney to prepare the lease.

I have, etc.,

C. CROFTES,

Attorney to Rd. Barwell, Esq.

(O. C. 1783 9th June, No. 25.)

(To) James Peter Auriol, Esq.,

Secretary to the General Department.

Calcutta, 5th June 1783.

SIR,—I have received your favour of the 4th instant, and have in consequence prepared and now enclose for the approbation of the Hon'ble Board a draft of the lease from the Trustees of Mr. Barwell's children to the United Company of the Writers' Barracks which has been approved by the Advocate-General.

I am, etc.

Geo. WROUGHTON,

Attorney for ye Hon'ble Company.

OF BARWELL'S FAMOUS HOUSE, now occupied by the Royal Military Orphanage, the present writer, as Chaplain of Kidderpore, might well be expected to have much to say, but for the present he must be brief. The Supreme Council, under some misapprehension, rented it from the Trustees of Barwell's children, for the official residence of Sir Eyre Coote, the Commander-in-Chief. Coote declined the privilege, and in the sequel there was much correspondence and a case before the Supreme Court. The Trustees, it may be noted, were Sir Elijah Impey and Mr. Joseph Cator.

Oath of Allegiance

I, A. B. do solemnly promise and swear that I will be
loyal and bear true allegiance to His Majesty
to help me God

Warren Hastings

J. Clavering

Geo: Monson

Ruth Canwell

Frances

Alex & Heinrich Shuff

J. Montague Shuff

W. Atkinson, Co. m.

W. Woodworth

Jan'y the 3rd 1777

Edm. Wheeler

Chas. Richardson

1st Jan'y 1778

Wm. M. W. D. 1778

John W. Johnson

1st October 1781

James M. H. 1781

Wm. M. W.

Ann M. H.

Chas. M. H.

R. Sloper

Cornwallis

Shore

Shore & Co.

Note: This Oath was taken according to a Resolution of Warren Hastings

The humour of the situation was that the lease was made out, despite Francis and Wheeler, in the name of Warren Hastings (who used his casting vote at the Council) and Barwell himself! It is difficult to abstain from the conjecture that "Barwell's children" represent trickery.

MENTION was made in the last number of *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXX, p. 162) to the escapade which nearly proved fatal to the career of Mr. William Townsend Jones, an explosive Irish attorney of the Supreme Court. An account of the affair is given in the *Calcutta Gazette* of August 26, 1787:

Mr. William Townsend Jones, attorney-at-law, who was committed to jail on Friday last by the Honourable Mr. Justice Hyde on a charge of having been the cause of the death of a brother of his durwan by giving him a severe flogging, appeared in Court on Tuesday, and was admitted to bail, himself in 10,000 rupees, and two sureties in 5,000 each. Many depositions were read in Court, which tended to prove the innocence of Mr. Jones. We cannot, however, avoid reprobating the custom of flogging servants under any provocation as highly dangerous and repugnant to the feelings of a gentleman.

Jones was a Freemason and as such a member of the same Lodge as William Hickey, who speaks of his brother masons in the following language: "The Lodge No. 2, in which I was made, had belonging to it several of the tradesmen of Calcutta, also two or three vagabond attornies, to neither of which description did I speak, and was therefore considered as extremely proud." In December 1784, the brethren of the Lodge were Hugh Gayer Honycomb, Right Worshipful Master, Henry Swinhoe, John Burrell, M. Ford, G. Jones, Stephen Bagshaw, William Williams, William Martin, W. Hyndman, R. Towers, W. T. Jones, [col.] F. Wilford, J. Boulden, James Forbes, Junior Warden, B. W. Gould, W. Jones, and W. Hickey. The Senior Warden, C. F. Brix was an advocate. The death of Townsend Jones at Calcutta on January 24, 1807, at the age of 50, is recorded in Urquhart's *Oriental Obituary* (Vol. III, 1813, p. 68) and is mentioned by Hickey in the newly-published fourth volume of his *Memoirs* (p. 326).

A PAGE OF AUTOGRAPHS.

THE page of autographs which we reproduce, will be found in the Second Volume of the "Bengal and Agra District Gazetteer" for 1841 (opposite page 437). It is evidently the first page of the Register of the Oath of Allegiance, for it is headed: "Oath of Allegiance:—I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty. So help me God." At the foot of the page are the words: "Note. This Oath was taken according to a Resolution of Warren Hastings."

The signatures are full of interest. The first six, including that of Eyre Coote (Commander-in-chief from 1778 to 1783) which is inserted in the margin, call for no comment. Alexander Mackrabie, the brother-in-law of Francis, who died at Ganjam in the Northern Circars on November 26, 1776, was the first Sheriff of Calcutta appointed under the Charter of 1774. The nomination was made on December 9, 1774, by a majority of the Council, Hastings and Barwell voting for William Swainston, and Clavering, Monson, and Francis for Mackrabie. Samuel Montaigut (1776) was the second Sheriff: and was succeeded by William Wodsworth (1777) John Richardson (1778) and Sir John Hadley D'Oyly (1779), whose signature is missing. Alexander Van Rixtel, Sheriff in 1780 died in Calcutta on January 16, 1785. Jeremiah Church (1783) and Philip Yonge (1785) who were advocates of the Supreme Court, sign also as Sheriffs (1). Edward Wheler was Member of the Supreme Council from December 11, 1777, until his death at Sooksagur on October 10, 1784. John Macpherson was sworn in as a Councillor on October 1, 1781 and resigned on January 12, 1787, after acting as Governor-General from February 8, 1785 to September 12, 1786. John Stables and the Hon'ble Charles Stuart were also Members of Council: the former from November 11, 1782 to January 19, 1787, and the latter from February 28, 1785, to January 21, 1793. Lieut. General Robert Sloper was Commander-in-chief from July 21, 1785 to September 12, 1786, and Major-General Sir Alured Clarke from March 17, 1797, to March 17, 1798. Lord Cornwallis's signature would seem to have been appended when he first took charge of the office of Governor-General and Commander-in-chief on September 12, 1786. John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth and Governor-General from October 28, 1793, to March 12, 1798, was a Member of Council from January 22, 1787 to December 14, 1789.

(Governor-General's Proceedings 17-10-1777.)

Read the following letter from the Collector of Government's Customs.

To the Hon'ble the Governor-General and the Council of Revenue.

HON'BLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

In obedience to your commands of the 14th inst. respecting Siretta Syah I have made the necessary enquiries and find that no gunge was ever established there till it came into the possession of Major Tolley. There was a Haut or weekly market there for several years for sale of fish, fruit and greens and sometimes paddy was brought there in small quantities on Cooley's heads. No duties have ever been collected by my office at these small hauts, but whenever they have been changed into gonges, or gunges erected in the neighbourhood of them I have thought it my duty to station chokies for the collections of the Government duties and have uniformly done so, giving notice at the same time to the Company's Custom House for collecting the royalty on grain.....

(Signed, John Petrie, dated 17-10-1777.)

(1) For an account of the Sheriffs of Calcutta, see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 139 to 154.

The Calcutta Committee of Revenue appointed a Mr. Patterson to make a report in the matter but the Board did not wait for this report and "ordered the Major Tolley be directed to abolish the gonge in question as the Board find none was ever established at Siretta Syah until it came into his possession."

MR. J. J. COTTON, I.C.S., writes: I am sorry to have lowered (most unwittingly) the record of *Bengal: Past and Present* for Zoffan's Portrait of Beniram Pundit. accuracy by stating in the last number (Vol. XXX, p. 209) that the portrait painted by Zoffany of Beniram Pundit, the friend of Warren Hastings, had mysteriously disappeared in the course of transit from London to an up-country destination in India. Such was the story told to me by Mr. Francis Edwards on September 30 last, and I repeated the information in all good faith. I now learn from Mr. Richard Burn, C.S.I., of Lucknow, that the picture is at Benares and in the possession of Pundit Baijnath Das, the great grandson of Beniram, who purchased it about a year ago from Mr. Edwards.

IN THE EDITOR'S NOTES (Vol. XXX, part I, No. 59, p. 116), reference is made to Tong Atchew, and his desire for a grant of land.

In the proceedings of the Committee of Revenue for March 2nd 1781 there is embodied a copy of Atchew's letter to the Governor-General, which is reproduced verbatim.

COMMITTEE OF REVENUE'S PROCEEDINGS.

March 2nd, 1781.

TO THE HON'BLE WARREN HASTINGS, Esq.,

Governor-General and Members of the Supreme Council.

HON'BLE SIR AND SIRs,

Having in consequence of the assurance of encouragement and protection communicated to me by your secretary in an extract from your proceedings of the 19th June 1778, lately returned to Bengal with a colony of 110 of my countrymen, I request that a grant of lands may be made to me as near the mart of Calcutta and as convenient for water carriage as possible. A spot enjoying both these advantages has been pointed out on the riverside north of Punjab Creek below Budge-budge in the pargana of Baha farmed to one Baranasi Ghose and is entirely waste under the head of Poheet (?Plateka) containing about 300 bighas. The season for cultivation being already far advanced I request the favour of an order to put me in possession of this ground as soon as can conveniently be.

I am with most profound respect,

Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,

Your most obed. and humble servant,

(Signed) ATCHEW,

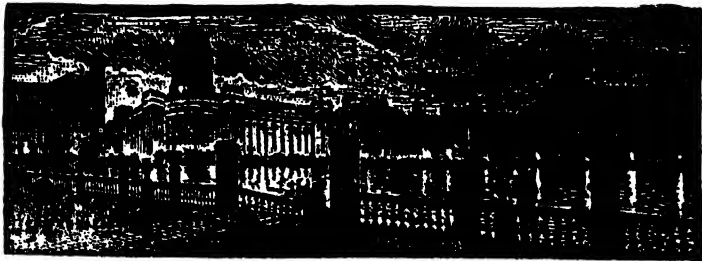
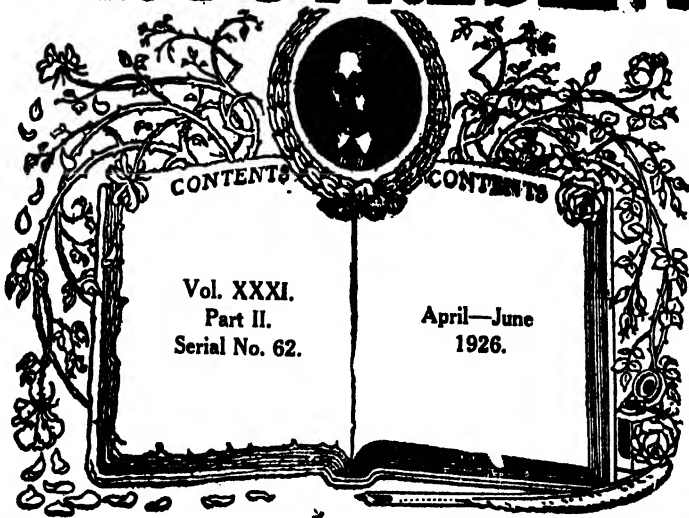
Witness Syamcharan Baisak.

The Dewan was ordered to enquire into this land, report whether it was Zamindari or belonging to the Company, whether it was Poheet or Hassill.

THIS issue of *Bengal: Past and Present* is the first which appears for several years without the guiding hand of Sir Evan Cotton. Readers will know how much the magazine owes to his energy, interest and remarkable knowledge of the history of Calcutta. It is not possible to replace such a loss, and the present Editor is sadly conscious of the great difference which the change must make in the management and conduct of this quarterly. He appeals to all those who are interested in the history of Calcutta and Bengal to continue their present support, in fact, to increase it as the magazine needs all their help. He wishes to express his thanks and acknowledgments to Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, Keeper of the Records, Government of India, and to Mr. N. Ganguli of Imperial Record Department for their great help in the issue of the present number and in particular to Mr. Ganguli who has most generously supervised much of the actual production of this number.



BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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* Armenians and the East India Company

" This people (the Armenians) have attained riches without usury "'—' BYRON.'

THERE was once a famous city in Armenia, the inhabitants of which were so rich, prosperous and devout, that they had built a thousand and one churches for the worship of the true God in their own way. This beautiful city was called Ani and it was the capital of the famous Bagratoonee (Bagratidae) kings whose glorious rule over Armenia lasted from 859—1079 A.D.

This world-renowned city which was the envy of the Greeks and of the Saracens owing to its great wealth, beauty and magnificence, to say nothing of its impregnability, fell, after many vicissitudes never to rise again, before the hordes of the notorious Chengiz Khan who completed its ruin in 1238 A.D. when the invaders—those human monsters from Central Asia—entered the city after a good deal of resistance, and with a knife in either hand and a third one between their teeth, made the streets of Ani simply run with blood, and the river Akhoorean, which flows by the city, became red with the blood of the helpless citizens whose only crime was that they were *Christians*.

And a city that could be proud of a thousand and one places of divine worship, must naturally have had a very large population and which the ruthless invaders could not possibly have annihilated or exterminated entirely, for there were many who succeeded in miraculously extricating themselves from the jaws of death and escaping the fire and the sword of the savage Tartars.

These refugees fled on all sides, some went to the Crimea, others to Poland and Hungary, whilst a good many of the well-to-do citizens succeeded in reaching the hospitable banks of the Aras, a great river in South Armenia where they built themselves a nice city, which in the course of a very short time became, if not a second Ani, yet the *premier* city in Armenia by reason of its commercial importance, and the name of this place was Julfa.

Here the refugees from Ani prospered and flourished through their commercial activities, for they carried on an extensive trade between India and Europe by the overland route through Persia. But as history must repeat itself always, the peaceful and the prosperous Armenians of Julfa were evidently not destined to have peace there either, for after a fairly long period of prosperity, during which time they had amassed considerable wealth, they were suddenly called upon to share the sad fate of their helpless ancestors. But this time the thunderbolt fell upon them not from Central Asia, as in 1238 A.D. but from the immediate South, for one fine morning Shañ Abbas the Great of Persia appeared before the gates of the

* A paper read at the Eighth Meeting of the Historical Records Commission—Lahore, Nov. 1925.

city with a vast army (as he was fighting the Turks at that time), and grossly abusing the unexampled hospitality of the wealthy citizens who had accorded him a right royal welcome and thereby unwittingly excited his cupidity and avarice, he forthwith issued a stern mandate ordering all the inhabitants of that populous and prosperous Armenian city to leave their homes, on pain of death, and migrate to Persia within three days.

This terrible and blood-curdling tragedy which is faithfully chronicled by an eye-witness (Arakiel Vardapiet of Tabriz in Persia) was enacted in the year 1605 A.D. when the helpless inhabitants of Julfa, young and old, rich and poor, were actually driven out of their homes by their inhuman executioners and forced to cross the river Aras the best way they could, as the dilapidated bridge across the said river had just then collapsed owing to the heavy floods. With tears and lamentations that would have melted the hardest rocks, the helpless Armenians of Julfa abandoned their beautiful homes and their numerous churches and after untold hardships, 12,000 families, who had escaped the fury of the formidable and violent Aras and the rigours of the terrible and long journey across Persia, reached Ispahan, the then capital of Persia.

Here every kindness and hospitality was shown to them by that crafty Persian monarch, Shah Abbas the Great, and they soon built themselves a nice little city with 24 churches and a beautiful cathedral on the banks of the Zenderood, which flows by Ispahan, and they called it New Julfa in everlasting memory of their former home on the Aras, which it may be mentioned, had been consigned to the flames by the soldiery of Shah Abbas after the inhabitants had been driven out, so that they may for ever abandon the idea of ever returning there.

Prosperity which happily had never deserted them since their ancestors fled from Ani, followed them from the old to the new Julfa and they soon became the cynosure of all eyes and the envy of the indolent Persians by reason of their great wealth and affluence, thanks to their commercial genius and natural aptitude for trade and commerce. In this connection it may be mentioned that that shrewd monarch Shah Abbas, who evidently was a strong advocate of political economy, granted to his new subjects, the Armenians, all sorts of indulgences and privileges, social, religious and commercial, with a view to foster and to promote the trade and the commerce of his country, since his own subjects, the indolent Persians, by reason of their exclusiveness due in a great measure to religious fanaticism, were very backward in international commerce, as they would never go abroad, whereas the enterprising and the go-ahead industrious Armenians penetrated every corner of the globe in quest of commercial gain.

As has been stated above, Armenians of Julfa on the Aras traded extensively with India and Europe, and no sooner they had settled down at New Julfa, near Ispahan, that they continued to carry on their former trade, as if nothing unusual had happened, and commenced once more pouring Indian wares and commodities into the European markets and *vice versa*, whereby they were able in a very short time to amass considerable wealth to the great

joy and gratification of their royal patron, Shah Abbas, justly called the Great.

Amongst the many Armenian merchants of Julfa who traded with India during the XVII century, the name of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar stands pre-eminent, for it was he, who as the leading Armenian merchant in India came under the notice of the Honourable East India Company during the latter end of the XVII century when the British trade was still in its infancy in India.

But before proceeding with the interesting history of the British relations with the Armenians in India, it will be necessary to make a digression and review the early connection of the Armenians with India long before the advent of the English or other European nations into the country.

It may not be generally known that the Armenians—sons of a noble but ill-fated fatherland—whose love of commerce has been proverbial, have, from time immemorial, traded with India, whither they were allured from their distant homes in the snow-clad mountains of Armenia, by the glamour of the lucrative trade in spices, muslins and precious stones which they carried on successfully with Europe long before the advent of any European traders, adventurers and interlopers into the country.

They were the principal foreign traders in India and carried on an extensive trade with Europe through the Persian Gulf, as also through the Gulf of Arabia, and the Portuguese, who were the first Europeans to exploit the trade of the country, tried to strangle by violence, as was their wont, the Armenian trade at the mouth of the two Gulfs but without any success, and what they failed to do by open violence and highhandedness, the cool-headed and the ever diplomatic English achieved by stratagem and non-violence.

The English merchants on their arrival in India in the early part of the XVII century, saw with grave concern that the Armenians—the pioneers of the foreign trade of India—were well established in the country and were carrying on an extensive, important and rather a lucrative export trade with Egypt, the Levant, Turkey and the Mediterranean ports, principally with Venice and Leghorn, through the Persian and the Arabian Gulfs, in Arab sailing vessels, for as is well known, the Arabs were great navigators in those days and their ships known as “buggalows,” crossed the vast Indian Ocean and called at Sumatra, Java, the Phillipines and as far as China, and it was through these very Arab ships that the religion of the prophet of Arabia penetrated into Malaya, Sumatra and far-off Java. The goods that were shipped by the Armenians to the Persian Gulf ports were sent from thence overland through Persia and Turkey in Asia and thence to Europe, *viâ* Trebizond and Alexandretta (otherwise known as Iskanderon) whilst those that were shipped to the Arabian Gulf were likewise exported to Europe through Egypt. In this connection it may be mentioned that the Cape route was not known then, as it came into prominence only when Vasco-de-Gama, the pioneer of European adventurers found his way to India in 1498, although Columbus had set out with the same objective six years before, but had discovered America instead, so that it can be safely asserted that it was the

glamour of India, which in the hoary past had loomed large in the expeditions of a Semiramis and an Alexander, that led to the discovery of the New World which has played such an important part in the politics, civilisation, culture and the material advancement of the old world. And yet by an irony of fate and a perverse destiny, that great and illustrious Spanish navigator, who in his futile attempt to reach the shores of India, had, by a mere chance found an unknown Continent, equally rich, was treated ignominiously by his unappreciative and unpatriotic countrymen steeped in ignorance and bigotry, but then was not the immortal Galileo treated similarly? But I have digressed.

The English as is well known, had come by the Cape route to capture the trade of the Country, not by violence however, like their predecessors the Portuguese, but by peaceful penetration, so instead of being hostile and antagonistic towards the Armenian traders who were well established in the country and were at the same time great favourites at the Courts of the Moghul Emperors and their Viceroys, they saw the advisability, nay the absolute necessity of cultivating their friendship. The English merchants knew that by securing the collaboration and the help of the Armenians, they could thereby secure a footing in the country and it was to their advantage therefore to fraternise with them, with an ulterior motive of course, as later events will clearly show. They perceived that the Armenians, by reason of their old connection with the country, and their thorough knowledge of the different vernaculars and of the ways, the manners, the habits and the modes of thinking of the different races that inhabited India, could prove a veritable thorn on their side if they were not respected and treated gently, for only the astute sons of Albion know how to treat, nay handle, an Asiatic and their highly successful administration of this vast and rich country (India) with its millions of diverse races and creeds for the past 200 years is an eloquent proof of their being adept students of human nature.

And in order to avoid competition and rivalry with its concomitant evil effects, it was necessary therefore to gain the Armenians on their side as a valuable asset by peaceful methods of course, and they hit upon the right plan to achieve that end, and needless to add, they succeeded *par excellence*. The practical and the shrewd Britishers saw that the only superiority that they had over the Armenians in India was in their shipping, by reason of their being a purely maritime nation, and in virtue of that indisputable power, they soon set about to promulgate a scheme for alluring the unsuspecting Armenian traders into their net, and to their credit be it said, they succeeded *par excellence*, as will be seen shortly.

The importance and the extensiveness of the Armenian trade with Europe was naturally detrimental to their interests, but how could they possibly impede or obstruct the same, as they were not in a position to oust them by violence, for they were only a handful of merchants and had no military power at their back like their predecessors the Portuguese.

And even if they had the requisite military strength to turn all the Armenians out of the country, they would not have attempted to run such a great risk for fear of bringing on their heads the just wrath of the mighty

Moguls with whom the Armenians were great favourites, as is well known. In the circumstances they could not afford to jeopardise their position by being hostile and in any way antagonistic towards the Armenians who enjoyed the patronage, the protection and the friendship of the Mogul Emperors and their Viceroy and Governors all over India from the days of the great Akbar downwards. And where open violence would have failed, and failed ignominiously, diplomacy succeeded *par excellence*, thanks to the consummate skill of the few cool-headed but crafty gentlemen who presided over the destinies of the old East India Company, otherwise known as the "Company of the Merchants of London trading to the East Indies" which as every student of Indian History knows, was inaugurated on the 31st day of December 1599, during the reign of that truly great queen, Elizabeth.

As stated above, the English hit upon the right plan, for we find the "Company of London Merchants," after mature deliberations, making overt overtures to the Armenian merchants of India in 1688, through their illustrious leader, the famous Khojah Phanoos Kalandar, who happened to be in London at that time with his nephew, the well known Khoja Israel Sarhad, the future merchant—diplomat of India, to enter into an agreement with them to divert their extensive trade with Europe from the old channel into the new one round the Cape, exclusively through British shipping.

The bait took and the unsuspecting and ever-confiding Armenians fell into the snare, for a cleverly-worded Treaty was immediately drawn up between Khojah Phanoos Kalandar, representing the Armenian nation, and the Governor and the Company of London Merchants trading to the East Indies, and it was signed, sealed and delivered on the 28th day of June in the year 1688. Needless to add that the specious Treaty, or Charter, as it was called, in which British acumen is vividly shown, proved the *death knell* to the extensive and important Armenian trade in India, as future events clearly showed.

The benefits that would accrue to the Armenian nation under that memorable Treaty, seemed very alluring on paper of course, as the Armenians were to participate then and at all times in *all* the advantages that the Company granted to any of their own or other English merchants with respect to trade or otherwise within the Company's Charter. Great privileges were likewise allowed them for carrying their persons and their merchandise to and from Europe in the Company's ships. They were also allowed to reside and trade freely in the Company's towns and garrisons where they could hold *all* civil offices and employments, equally with the English. They were further allowed the free exercise of their own religion and the worship of God in their own way and as a further inducement, the English stipulated to give the Armenians ground for a church, to be first built at the expense of the Company wherever forty or more of the Armenian nation became inhabitants of any of the company's towns or garrisons.

The benevolent and the ever altruistic English even stipulated that they would not continue in their service any Governor who should in any way disturb or discountenance them (the Armenians) in the full enjoyment of their trade and privileges, which clearly shows that they were mortally afraid

to offend them in any way, lest they should lose their esteemed friendship and valued collaboration in the furtherance of their cause in the country. But later events proved conclusively the truth of the German Emperor's pithy remark that a treaty was nothing but simply "a scrap of paper."

The specious terms of the Treaty, or better still the Death Warrant of the Armenian trade in India had the desired effect, as they resorted in large numbers from other places in India to the Company's Settlements where they established themselves, built churches, most of which exist to this date, and carried on their usual trade with Europe.

Being the leading merchants in Asia, they contributed considerably to the increase of trade in the respective Settlements where they resided, and thereby added to the population thereto. They were of the greatest service to the Company's Agents and Factors in the disposal of their goods from England, as also in providing them with Indian merchandise for export to England. This is clearly seen in a communication from the Court of Directors to their Governor in India, under date the 13th September 1695 in which it is distinctly stated that "Multan and Scindy are brave provinces for many sorts of extraordinary good and cheap commodities; but whenever the Company shall be induced to settle Factories in those provinces, or any other way think to arrive at trade with them, otherwise than by Armenians, they would infallibly come off with great loss."

And with the gradual growth and expansion of the English trade in the country, it was deemed absolutely necessary to obtain further privileges from the Delhi Court, but how was that to be secured? Thanks to British acumen and resourcefulness, the valuable, nay indispensable, services of an Armenian were requisitioned and through him the historical and all-important "Grand Farman" which proved to be the "Magna Charta" of the English in India, was obtained from the Mogul Emperor Farrukh Siyar in 1717, of which more hereafter.

But before proceeding any further with the history of the cordial relations of the Armenians in India with their *confrères* the English, it will be necessary to publish the full texts of the Treaties, Agreements, Charters or better still, the Death Warrants, concluded by the astute Britishers with their formidable rivals, the Armenians, so that the unbiassed readers may be able to form their own opinion and draw their own inferences and conclusions therefrom, since these so-called Treaties have never received the publicity they deserved, and at one time their very existence was denied and they were produced with much reluctance, in 1772, when an honourable member of the House of Commons insisted on their immediate production. In this connection it may not be out of place to mention that a clever legal luminary Thomas Nuthall, who happened to be the Solicitor to the Company, tried to prove by force of untenable arguments that the Treaties were null and void, inasmuch as they had been concluded by the old Company, although the old Company had legally and by an Act of Parliament surrendered all its rights, title, interests, assets and liabilities in India to the new Company formed in the reign of Queen Anne of England.

The following is a copy of the famous Treaty, the original of which can still be seen in the archives of the India Office in London.

Copy of an Agreement made between the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, and the Armenian Nation, dated 22nd June 1688.*

"The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, to all to whom these presents shall come, send greeting.

"Whereas representation hath been made to us by Sir Josiah Child, Baronet, our Deputy-Governor, that, upon long conferences by him had with Cogee Phanoos Calendar, an Armenian merchant of eminency, and an inhabitant of Isphahan in Persia, as also with Sir John Chardin of London, Knight, they had, on behalf of the Armenian nation proposed to him several particulars for carrying on a great part of the Armenian trade to India and Persia, and from thence to Europe, by way of England, which will redound greatly to his Majesty's advantage in his customs and to the increase of the English navigation, if the Armenian nation might obtain such license from this Company as will give them encouragement to alter and invert the ancient course of their trade to and from Europe. And we being always willing to increase and encourage the public trade and navigation of this kingdom, after a serious debate of all the propositions relating to this affair, have thought fit to agree and resolve as follows, *viz.*:

First.—That the Armenian nation shall now, and at all times hereafter, have equal share and benefit of all indulgences this Company have or shall at any time hereafter grant to any of their own Adventurers or other English merchants whatsoever.

Secondly.—That they shall have free liberty at all times hereafter to pass and repass to and from India in any of the Company's ships on as advantageous terms as any free man whatsoever.

Thirdly.—That they shall have liberty to live in any of the Company's cities, garrisons, or towns in India, and to buy, sell, and purchase land and houses, and be capable of all civil offices and preferments in the same manner as they were Englishmen born, and shall always have the free and undisturbed liberty of the exercise of their own religion. And we hereby declare that we will not continue any Governor in our service that shall in any kind disturb or discountenance them in the full enjoyment of all the privileges hereby granted to them, neither shall they pay any other or greater duty in India than the Company's factors, or any other Englishman born, do, or ought to do.

Fourthly.—That they may voyage from any of the Company's garrisons to any ports or places in India, the South seas, China or the Manillas, in any of the Company's ships, or any permissive free ships allowed by the Company, and may have liberty to trade to China, the Manillas or any other ports or places within the limits of the Company's Charter upon equal terms, duties and freights with any free Englishman whatsoever.

*See Reports of the House of Commons, 1772 and 1773, Vol. 3rd, page 283.

But whereas all persons in England do pay for bullion outwards two per cent. for freight and permission, and three per cent. homewards for diamonds and other precious stones, it is hereby declared and agreed, that the Armenians shall pay three per cent. outwards for bullion and two per cent. homewards for diamonds; for coral and amber-beads they shall pay six per cent. for freight and permission and for coral, amber, raw-cochineal, quick silver, sword blades, fire arms of all sorts, haberdashery wares, iron of all sorts wrought or unwrought, paper, all sorts of stationery wares, English looking or drinking glasses and for all sorts of Norimbergh wares and merchandises, ten per cent. for permission and six pounds per ton freight.

That all sorts of leather and Venitian wares and merchandises may be shipped out permission free, paying only six pounds per ton freight. For all cloth or woollen manufactures of what kind or sort so ever, they pay twelve and one half per cent. in lieu of all charges whatsoever, excepting in the freight and the Company's customs in India. For lead ten per cent. permission and three pound per ton freight. For provisions of all sorts for eating and drinking, six pounds per ton freight, but no permission. And for all sorts of goods homeward bound they shall pay in manner and form following, *viz.*, for diamons, pearls, rubies, all sorts of precious stones, and ambergris, two per cent. freight and permission as aforesaid. For musk of any kind six per cent. for freight and permission for pepper one penny per pound, and for coffee ten per cent. permission, besides freight. For all raw silk of Persia, twenty-one pounds per ton freight, but no permission, custom or any other charges whatsoever, excepting only two and one-half per cent. towards demurrage of our ships. For all goods whatsoever of the growth and manufacture of Persia (red Carmania wool excepted, which is hereby totally prohibited) ten per cent. permission and the same freights as the Company themselves pay, without any other charges whatsoever. For all sorts of China and Bengal goods, during the Company's indulgence for those kinds of goods, and no longer, in what place soever laden. Thirteen per cent. for permission and all other charges, whatsoever, over and above the same freight as the Company pay, and the customs hereafter mentioned, *viz.*, all goods outward and homeward bound are to pay the Company in East India five per cent. custom on the first cost as per invoices of the said goods, whether they be laden from or delivered into any of the Company's ports or places, or into any other ports or places whatsoever, excepting only from this article all bullion, diamonds, and other precious stones, ambergris, musk and raw Persian silk. And it is agreed, that the permission money and freight for all goods outward bound to be paid in India as aforesaid shall be accounted for at eight and one-half rupees per pound sterling, upon hypothecation of the goods to the Company in London. And we do declare that for ease of accounts, the custom due to the Company in East India is to be included, together with the other charges, *viz.*, freight and permission according to the premises and all inserted in one sum upon the respective bills of loading which sum is always to be paid before the delivery of the goods to the persons mentioned in the said bills of loading which is the true intent of the hypothecation before expressed. That all goods which have once paid custom are

not to pay any again, either upon importation or exportation of the same goods to the place where they first pay it, or to any other port or place belonging to us in the East Indies. That every person that shall take passages on any of the Company's ships shall pay in East India twelve pounds sterling for his permission outwards, at the rate of eight rupees and one half per pound sterling; and the like sum to be paid here for every person that shall take passage homewards, besides eight pounds per head for sea provisions, which is hereby agreed shall always be paid in London. And for such persons who shall board at the Captain's table, they shall pay ten guineas to the Captain for the same. But the servants shall be messed apart by themselves, and always have the same allowance of ship-provisions as the officers and the seamen of the ship have or ought to have. And it is also granted to the said Armenians that the passengers shall be allowed, both out and home, to carry with them their wearing cloaths, furniture and provisions, not exceeding one quarter of a ton for each man, freight free. And whereas the said Armenians have used to drive a great trade from India to Turkey, overland, by way of Persia and Arabia, and are now desirous to drive that whole trade by the way of England, it is hereby declared and agreed. That the said Armenians have liberty to send upon any of the Company's ship for England, any sorts of goods of East India consigning to the Company by true invoices and bills of loading, and not otherwise, paying ten per cent. permission on the value of the said goods in London, besides the same freight as we ourselves pay. And it is hereby declared that the Company have liberty to detain and keep in their possession all such goods as shall be consigned unto them as aforesaid, until they have shipped them off upon English shipping, bound to Turkey, Venice or Leghorn and taken security that they shall not be landed in any other ports or places of Europe except the place to which they shall be directed by the said Armenian proprietor or their agents. And, lastly, it is declared and agreed, that notwithstanding anything aforesaid it shall and may be lawful for the said Company to reserve and keep for their own use any of the said goods so intended for Turkey as aforesaid paying the proprietors one third part clear profit on the first cost as aforesaid; all freight, charges, and disbursements whatsoever being first deducted and foreprized, eight rupees in India being in this case to be accounted for one pound sterling. In witness whereof, the Governor, Deputy-Governor and three of the Committee of the said Company have hereunto set their hands and caused the larger Seal of the said Company to be fixed, this two-and-twentieth day of June, Anno Domini 1688, and in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord James the Second by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

BENJAMIN BATHURST,

Governor.

JOSIAH CHILD,

Deputy Governor.

WORCESTER.

JOHN MOORE.

GEORGE BOUN.

Simultaneously with the above, another Treaty, equally alluring, was concluded with the Armenians by the English, of which the following is a true copy:—

"The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies to all to whom it may concern, send greeting. Whereas it had been represented to us, that the Armenian nation have a desire to carry on a trade and commerce with our people in the East Indies, we do for the better encouragement of that nation to settle and cohabit in the several garrisons, cities and towns in the East Indies under our jurisdiction, by these presents declare, grant and agree, that whenever forty or more of the Armenian nation shall become inhabitants in any of the garrisons, cities, or towns belonging to the Company in the East Indies, the said Armenians shall not only have and enjoy the free use and exercise of their religion but there shall also be allowed to them a parcel of ground to erect a church thereon for the worship and service of God in their own way. And that we will also at our own charge, cause a convenient church to be built of timber, which afterwards the said Armenians may alter and build with stone and other solid material to their own good liking. And the said Governor and Company will also allow fifty pounds per annum, during the space of seven years, for the maintenance of such priest or minister as they shall choose to officiate therein.

Given under the Company's larger Seal, as also under the hands of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and three of the Committee of the said Company this two and twentieth day of June, Anno Domini 1688, and in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord James the Second, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland. Defender of the Faith, etc."

BENJAMIN BATHURST,

Governor.

JOSIAH CHILD,

Deputy Governor.

WORCESTER.

JOHN MOORE.

GEORGE BOUN.

And in order to please the illustrious representative of the Armenian nation, through whose great influence and strenuous efforts the important negotiations had been so successfully concluded, the magnanimous English, in a fit of unexampled generosity, granted the sole Monopoly of the Garnet trade in India to Khojah Phanoos Kalander and to his descendants after him, as set forth in the following Treaty, in which they naively say that it was granted in compliance with his "request." Here is the Treaty:—

"The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, to all whom it may concern send greeting. "Whereas Cogee Phanoos Calendar, an Armenian merchant of eminency, and an inhabitant of

Isphahan, in Persia, hath taken great pains in making an agreement with the said Company for a great trade to be carried on in English shipping by himself and others of the Armenian nation; the said Governor and Company in consideration thereof do, by these presents (at the request of the said Cogee Phanoos Calendar) freely grant unto him and his family the sole trade of Garnet, he paying ten per cent. custom for the same, and the usual freight paid by the Company. And the said Company do hereby declare that they will neither trade in the said commodity themselves, nor suffer any other persons, English or stranger, for the future to trade or traffick in that commodity.

Given under the Company's larger Seal, as also under the hands of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and three of the Committee of the said Company, this two-and-twentieth day of June, anno Domini 1688, and in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord James the Second, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland. Defender of the Faith, etc.

BENJAMIN BATHURST,

Governor.

JOSIAH CHILD,

Deputy Governor.

WORCESTER.

JOHN MOORE.

GEORGE BOUN.

Here again British suavity asserts itself in a most pronounced manner, for although they admit, and admit they must, that they were granting him the monopoly of the garnet trade in India in consideration of the "great pains" he had taken "in making an agreement with the said Company for a great trade to be carried in English shipping by himself and others of the Armenian nation" yet at the same time, and without any fear of contradicting themselves, they do not hesitate, or blush, to place him under an obligation to the Company by granting his request in a most magnanimous manner. Pray tell me gentle reader in what part of the civilized world can remuneration for valuable services rendered be at any time considered or construed as a favour or an act of grace, if not charity? Is not the labourer worthy of his hire, then why confound wages justly earned with charity? When you pay a labourer his wages, do you for a moment think that you have given him charity or done him a great favour? But then the honourable gentlemen who were signatories to the Treaty concluded with the noble and illustrious Armenian, say without the least compunction, that it was "at the request of the said Cogee Phanoos Calendar" that the monopoly was granted, as if he were an ordinary concession-hunter or a mercenary, simply striving for self-aggrandizement at his nations' expense, when as they admit, he was "a merchant of eminency and the head of the Armenians in India."

I am however inclined to think that instead of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar asking the English for any favours which would have been *infra dig*, for the proud and the magnanimous Armenian, the English Company, with a view to ingratiate themselves with the great Armenian, must have specially asked him to do them the honour of accepting a small present in the shape of an insignificant monopoly as a memento of the auspicious friendship just begun, if not for the valuable services rendered by that illustrious Armenian to the British cause in India. That the English greatly appreciated and valued the friendship of that remarkable Armenian magnate is evident from the fact that when they were sadly in need of soldiers for the protection of their several important factories in India, principally at Surat, they approached Khojah Phanoos Kalandar again for help and collaboration, as the following communication from the Court of Directors in London to their "Deputy and Council of Bombay" under date the 26th January 1692, will clearly show:—

"Stores of all kinds wee have sent you by this ship, the *Modona*, and what souldiers wee could possibly procure. But it is very difficult to get any at this time while the King (William III) has occasion for such vast numbers of men in Flanders. Among those wee send great mortality has happened, as well in their passage out as after their arrival, which has put us on discourse with the Armenian Christians here, to see if by their means wee could procure some private souldiers of their nation from Ispahan, which wee should esteem, if wee could get them as good as English. Not that they have altogether the same courage which Englishmen have, but because by their conduct they are now so united to the English nation, and particularly to this Company, that in effect wee and they have but the common interest. They are very near to our national and reformed religion, as sober temperate men, and know how to live in health in a hot climate. Coia Panoos Kalandar tells us it will be difficult to get any considerable number of them to be souldiers: they are universally addicted to trade, but some few, he thinks, may be picked up at Surat and he will write to his friends at Julpa [Julfa] to see if they can persuade any from thence to come to you to make an experiment of their entertainment, and of their li'ing or dislike of the service."

The same communication, in which the original spelling has been carefully preserved, goes on to say:—"If you can procure any Armenian Christians to be souldiers, wee doe allow you to give them the same pay as our English souldiers and forty shillings gratuity and the charge of their passage from Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) to Bombay, wee would not have above fifty or sixty in our pay at one time, and if you had the like number of Madagascar slaves to teach the exercise of arms and to do some inferior duty under our English souldiers, being listed upon an English Captaine kept in a Company by themselves under the Dutch manner, and allowing them a competent proportion of rice, a red capp and red coat and some other trifles to please them, not having above fifty or sixty at a time, and they never to have a custody of their own armes, wee hope such a contrivance might be a good Auxiliary aid to our own garrison, especially when English souldiers are scarce and wee need some balance of power. For take it as an infallible

constant rule, that the more castes the more safety and the less danger of mutiny. Wee know their is a necessity for increasing our English souldiers and wee will doe it as soone and as much as wee possibly can. In the meantime, Armenian Christians if you could have them are the very best men to be trusted and next to them Madagascar Coffrees." From this it will be seen that the Armenians, and Khojah Phanoos Kalandar in particular, were held in high esteem by the Court of Directors for their strong attachment to the Company and their unswerving loyalty to the British cause in India.

It may not be generally known that the first English Factory was opened in 1612 at Surat, the premier city then in Western India, by the permission of the Emperor Jehangeer, that devotee at the shrine of Bacchus who had left the reins of the vast Government in the able hands of his famous queen, that remarkable Persian lady known to fame and history as Nur Jahan (the light of the world).

And it was at Surat, where the Armenians had settled since the halcyon and palmy days of Akbar, the patron of their nation, that the English first came in contact with these remarkable merchants from distant Armenia, who were the premier merchants in that important emporium of Indian trade during the XVII century.

Khojah Phanoos Kalandar, the "Armenian merchant of eminency" as the English call him, was a native of Julfa (Ispahan) but had settled down at Surat and his only son's grave in the Mortuary chapel at the Armenian cemetery, adjoining the old Dutch graveyard of that place, can be seen to this day, bearing an inscription in classical Armenian, of which the following is a translation: "This is the tomb of Kalandar, the son of Phanoos Kalandar of Julfa, who departed this life on Saturday, the 6th day of March 1695."

It may be mentioned, *en passant*, that this is the only grave inside the Mortuary Chapel in the Armenian Cemetery at Surat which was visited by the writer of these lines in January 1908 when about two hundred epitaphs in the classical Armenian language, dating from the middle of the XVI century right up to the first quarter of the XIX century, were rescued from oblivion and inevitable loss from the Armenian cemetery, as also from the dilapidated church, the roof of which had fallen. It is however, sad to reflect that there are no Armenians left now in that once flourishing and historic city, whereas in the palmy days of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar, it was the most important centre of the Armenian trade in India.

Alas for departed glory and the vicissitudes of time! for by an irony of Fate, the beautiful Armenian church of good old Surat, with its historical associations, was, in the absence of devout worshippers, found in the indisputable possession of thousands of owls, crows, bats, rats, snakes and scorpions which howled, screeched and hissed ominously as the present writer, at the risk of his life, entered the sacred edifice where his revered grandfather, Seth Mackertich Agazar Seth, had worshipped during the last quarter of the XVIII century.

But I have digressed from the subject-matter of this Memoir-Historic Surat, the birthplace of British rule in India, contains amongst other notable graves, that of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar's only son, but despite ceaseless and

strenuous efforts in the thorny fields of antiquarian research, I have not yet been able to find either the time or the place of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar's death, for he is certainly not buried at Surat, where, as we have seen, his only son found a last resting place in 1695. He may perhaps have died in London where he had gone in 1688 with his nephew—the future diplomat Khojah Israel Sarhad—or he may most probably have returned to Julfa, his birth-place, and there slept with his forefathers.

His only son Kalandar, who died at Surat in 1695, could not have left any male issue, for I have not yet been able to find the grave of another Kalandar either at Surat or at Bombay, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Gwalior, Bhopal, Lucknow, Patna, Benares, Sydabad, Hooghly, Chinsurah, Calcutta, Dacca, Madras, Mylapore, Musulipatam, Pondicherry or Hyderabad, where wealthy Armenians lived and died during the XVII and XVIII centuries. Although there are no lineal descendants of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar in the male line, yet there are in the present day, several prominent and well-known Armenians in India and elsewhere who can claim descent from him through his daughter, who had married Khojah Minas of the noble family of Khojah Emniaz of Julfa. Their only daughter, Hripsimah, married Satoor Phanoos Tharkhan of the well-known Shookhoorean family of Surat. Satoor Tharkhan had come over from Surat and settled in Calcutta where he died in 1761, aged 36 years, and his grave can be seen in the Armenian churchyard of Nazareth to this day, with an inscription in classical Armenian. His widow, Hripsimah, after marrying a second time, died in 1770, and was buried next to her husband in the Calcutta Armenian Church. Her second husband, Moses, who by the way was a relation of hers, survived her by three years and died, evidently of a broken heart in 1773, and is also buried in the Armenian churchyard of Calcutta, next to her, so that by a strange coincidence, Hripsimah, the grand-daughter of Khojah Phanoos Kalandar, lies buried between her *two* devoted husbands, which should be a great consolation to her soul in the next world. Satoor Tharkhan's daughter Begoom, by his wife Hripsimah, was born in 1755 and she married the famous Agah Catchick Arrakiel of Calcuta in 1771.

For a fuller account of the achievements of the early Armenian Settlers in this country, see the "History of the Armenians in India" by the present writer.

MESROVB J. SETH.

CALCUTTA,
18th May, 1926.

Influence of Sea-Power on the Consolidation of the Position of the English on the East*

THE prologue to the foundation of the British Empire in India was enacted nearly 300 years ago on the sea. If the sea to-day is the greatest asset of the world-power of England, it was all along the principal agency of the creation of such a power. The utility of sea-power in the Indian world of the 17th century may conveniently be studied under four different headings. (1) The great service it rendered to save the Company's trade and possessions from the hatred and bitter enmity of the rival European Companies and adventurers, deserves first and primary consideration. (2) The convenient means of communication that sea-power furnished to the many factories of the Company stationed at the different parts of the extensive sea-board of India, is by no means a negligible factor. Its utility in this respect may be estimated by a reference to the danger which beset inland traffic during the period under review. (3) The protection of the Company's shipping from the rapacity of pirates devolved upon the English sea-power of the time a specific duty of onerous nature. (4) Lastly, the Company owed to it the protection of their interests in India as against the jealousy and constant interference of the country powers especially the Great Moghal. An undisputed mastery of the sea exposed the trade of the Indian powers and the ships conveying annual pilgrims to and from Mecca to the mercy of the English ships, and furnished them available means of retaliation for wrongs sustained on shore.

I. Of these four-fold services which went a great length towards establishing an Empire in India, the most effective and far-reaching in consequence is the stubborn fight and constant watch that the early pioneers had to put up against the impetuous hatred and rivalry of the Portuguese and the protracted and insidious enmity of the Dutch. From the first day of the attempted landing at Surat till 1635, the struggle with the Portuguese was one unceasing and most annoying in character. In 1608, Captain Hawkins of the ship *Hector* brought to anchor the first English vessel at Surat (1). In September of the same year, the Northern Armada (2) of

*A certain phase of this subject has been dealt with by Prof. J. Holland Rose, Litt. D. in a masterly article in the September, 1924, issue of the *Journal of Indian History*. The learned writer confined his treatment of the subject to the period between 1746-1802. The purpose of the present article is to show that the real crises which the English sea-power averted and thus made it possible for the early English pioneers to effect that steady progress which eventually led to an Empire, belong to the 17th century. It was the stage of infancy which put it to a most crucial test of its usefulness.

(1) Selections from the letters, despatches, etc. preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Home Series, Edited by Forrest, Introduction, page 1.

(2) Orme, *Historical Fragments*, page 320.

the Portuguese consisting of 40 sail of grabs and gallivats came into the road threatening to burn the city and all its vessels if the English ship and all that belonged to her were not sent away. "Hawkins hastened her despatch, but not equal to the impatience of the Portuguese, who seized his long boat, with goods to a considerable amount and 27 men whom they kept prisoners." The period 1612-1615 was one in which the fate of the English attempt to settle in Western India hung more than once in the balance (3). One resolution, firm and sure, actuated the Portuguese, and that was not to allow a rival to have a footing in India and crushing his very first venture. The English were not to be allowed to have their first landing at Surat. This, however, made them look for an alternative place of landing and the result was the discovery of the famous Hole of Swalley. Even there Captain Best (1612) was attacked by an overwhelming number of Portuguese ships whom after four successive naval engagements he utterly defeated to the great astonishment of the natives, (4) for they had hitherto considered them to be invincible.

Two years later (1614) Captain Downton reached Swalley with "four gallant ships and 400 gallant men". The Captain soon placed himself at the head of a large number of ships. This roused the Portuguese to a supreme effort and as soon as the Viceroy could collect his entire force at Daman, he sailed to the north with the intention of first crushing the English intruders (5). It was a glorious sea-fight that the English won. The Portuguese too fought with conspicuous courage. "The gallants of the Portugals army were in the business" (6). This together with the partial success of the mission of Sir Thomas Roe at Agra obtained for the English a momentary respite. They were, however, soon in a desperate condition, 'threatened by the Portuguese, plundered by local officials, and in imminent danger of expulsion' (7). It is only the dread of the guns of the fleet and fear of retaliation upon Indian traders that caused the Mughal authorities to hesitate in taking vigorous measures for their expulsion. The next attack of the Portuguese on a big scale was effected on December, 28, 1620. Archibold Jemison's account of the naval fight off Jask may be here recorded (8). "God so dealt that they had the overthrowe for we had but ¹⁰⁰ men slaine this daye, and one that was hurte. But our Captaine (Andrew Shillinge) received one shoote on his lefte shoulder to our great grieve, who was the first that was hurte, he beinge one the halfe decke... Our Captaine was very ille, and desired us to pray for him...and at 6th

(3) Letters Received by the E. I. Company from its own Servants, Vol. II, Introduction, page i.

(4) Report on the Old Records of the India Office—Sir George Birdwood, page 209.

(5) The Portuguese Armada under the Viceroy of Goa, Don Jeronimo de Azevedo, was served by about 6,000 natives and 2,600 Europeans, and their ordnances numbered 134 pieces as against 80 of the English.—Orme, Historical Fragments, page 348.

(6) Dispatch of Captain Downton to the Company.—Letters received by the E. I. Co. from its own Servants, Vol. II, page 186.

(7) The English Factories in India, Vol. I, Introduction, page ix.

(8) Marine Records, Vol. XXXII, page 226.

(January 6, 1621) he departed at noone." Thus the 'pride of Portugall armado' under Ruy Freire de Andrade was crushed. The last words of the dying Captain had the savour of 'Thank God, I have done my duty.'

These victories so consolidated the position of the English on the west coast of India that they could take up the offensive against the Portuguese far and wide, and extend their trade to Persia. On the 23rd of April, 1622, after a month's operation, the Portuguese naval flag fluttered down from over Albuquerque's castle at Ormus before a joint Anglo-Persian naval attack. Ormus was erased for ever from the list of the Eastern possessions of Portugal (9). Not long after followed a three months' blockade of Goa by a joint English and Dutch fleet (10). The Portuguese had thus the mortification of seeing their principal settlement blockaded. Community of religious feeling perhaps moved the two powers, the English and the Dutch, to combine against the common enemy. Again on October 15, 1626, they made a joint attack on Bombay. "In the morningn stood in and landed of the Eingles and the Duches sum 400 meane at the leaste and tocke the forte and cassell and the towne, and sett fire of it and all the towne..." (11). These repeated insults stirred the Portuguese to their utmost exertion, and the English and the Dutch had, for a time, to be on the defensive to protect their position in India. A great Portuguese fleet was collected at Goa under Nuno Alvarez Botelho. This was by far the most formidable squadron that had yet appeared in the Persian waters. The English and the Dutch kept together. Series of combats followed, but the results remained indecisive, a sure indication of the growing weakness of the Portuguese power in the East (12). One of the last engagement fought with the Portuguese was in 1630-1631 when Captain Morton's fleet on arriving at the coast of India found itself faced by a force of about 30 Portuguese frigates. "But such was the undauntedness of our English, being stirred up to a high measure of furie by the hourly vexations and braveings of the enemy, as being now come within shot, with a general resolution rejoyceing att that occasion...pushed on in the very face and mouth of all their ffrigates the Vice-kings sonne narrowly escaped. Victory was pursued with great slaughter both at shore and at sea...returned at length with 27 Portuigalls prisoners taken alive, with the losse of one ancient man and the wounding of 7 more people" (13). The President and Council at Surat further wrote, "this added more to our nation's fame then hath all our sea-fights formerly acquired here in India" (14). Recollections of the

(9) This naval engagement and its sequel is fully depicted in Purchas's Pilgrimage, Vol. II, pages 1787-1805.

(10) Factory Records, Vol. II, Introduction, page xi.

(11) Ships Journals preserved in the India Office and quoted by Sir G. Birdwood in his Report on Old Records of the India Office.

(12) Arber's Transcripts of the Registers of the Stationers Company, Vol. IV, page 137. Also Factory records, Vol. III, pages 46-54.

(13) Surat Letters--President Rastell and Council to Mr. Mounteny, etc., page 11.

(14) Factory Records, Vol. IV, page 122.

engagement still lingered in 1674 when Dr. John Fryer visited Surat. "The long lived people at Swally remember a notable skirmish betwixt the English and Portugals there, wherein they were neatly trapped...they were compelled between them and the ships in the road to resign most of their lives, and they gave by their fall a memorable name to a point they yet call Bloody Point for this very reason" (15).

The Portuguese power of resistance, for reasons obvious, declined, and in 1635 they were glad to sign the Treaty of Madrid at the initiation of President Methowld. The quarrel which commenced with the first coming of the English and which produced a bitter hostility lasting nearly 30 years now subsided. The pacification thus concluded lasted till the present time. The English sea-power thus tamed and disarmed one of their earliest and greatest rivals in the East.

If the enmity of the Portuguese was open and determined, that of the Dutch was more harassing and exhausting. So long as the Dutch were weak and their competition a negligible quantity, the merchants were on excellent terms, but with accession to their strength and funds the aspect of affairs entirely changed. The newly founded Republic regarded its oriental trade as the very sinews of life and existence. This accounts for the steady progress they made in the Archipelago and the stubborn and often successful resistance they offered to the English when the latter made a bid for a share in the lucrative spice-trade of the Indian Archipelago. All throughout the 17th century the ceaseless annoyance to which the English sailors and traders were put in the Eastern seas called loudly for vengeance. "It was fortunately, however, for England that their early opposition to us at Bantam and Amboyna led to our transferring the seat of the English E. I. Co. from the Indian Archipelago to the continent of India" (16). The massacre of Amboyna, fraught with important subsequent results as it was, for the moment entirely damped the spirit of the Company's employees. Thus wrote one of them about the time, "the Dutch on the Eastern Coast did everything to discouradge or weary out our employer, and to graspe this trade in their only manadging. In their glories they laugh in their sleeves at our present miseries. Our employment on the present footing is neyther beneficial to our maisters, credit to our nacion, nor content to ourselves" (17). The disaster that thus overtook the English traders in the Archipelago made them turn the prow of their ships towards the north. The Coromandel coast, as well being not entirely free from Dutch depredations, the English moved further north, and with the help of the fleet planted new factories in Orissa and Bengal at Hariharpur, Balasore, Pipli and then at Hugli (18). For sometime the civil war in England had its damaging effect on the Company's shipping in the Indian seas. Thus about the middle of the century, the Company was suffering

(15) Fryer's *East India and Persia*, Vol. I, page 224 (Haklyt Society).

(16) Sir George Birdwood—Report on the Old Records of the India Office, page 102.

(17) *Factory Records*, Vol. II, page 121.

(18) *Factory Records*, Vol. IV, Introduction, page vii.

severe losses at the hands of the Dutch. The latter could not attack the English factories, for fear of offending the monarchs in whose dominions these were situated; but they diligently scourged the high seas and captured English vessels wherever they could find them. In the middle of February, 1653, the *Roebuck* and *Laneret* encountered on their way to *Surat*, 3 Dutch ships and were taken after a slight resistance (19). Further, the *Blessing*, the *Supply* and the *Dove* fell into the hands of the *Hollanders*. The *Falcon*, *Welcome* and the *Dove* were attacked by 5 Dutch ships off *Laribandar* with the result that the *Falcon* was captured and the *Endeavour*, whom the former had rescued, was sunk (20). The other two ships made good their escape.

At length the great Protector was wearied out of all patience with the Dutch on account of their long accumulated cruel injuries against the Company. He declared a naval war against them and prosecuted it with such vigour that the Dutch were soon constrained to sue for any terms the Protector might please to offer. The treaty of Westminster was signed, 1654, and they agreed to restore *Pulo Roon*, pay an indemnity of £85,000 to the Company and a further sum of £3,615 to the heirs and executors of the victims of *Amboyna*. This fair prospect, however, was obscured by the Restoration in England. Once it was projected in England to open a subscription to fit out privateers against the Dutch in the East (21). It did not certainly materialise. The Company's position became day by day so desperate that in 1663-64 there was "great talke of the Dutch proclaiming themselves in India, Lords of the Southern Seas, and denying traffick there to all ships, but their own upon pain of confiscation; which makes our merchants mad" (22). Again under date 15th February, 1663-64 we have, "this afternoon Sir Thomas Chamberlain came to the office to me and shewed me several letters from the East Indys, shewing the height that the Dutch are come to there, shewing scorn to all the English, even in our own factory at *Surat*, beating several men, and hanging the English standard *St. George* under the Dutch flag in scorn; saying that whatever their masters do or say at home they will do what they list and be master of all the world there; and have so proclaimed themselves soveraigne of all the South Seas; which certainly our king cannot endure, if Parliament will give him money" (23). But the king endured much more; for the first time since the days of the Danes, the boomings of the Dutch guns in the Thames perturbed the tranquility of English men and women; and the humiliating treaty of *Breda* not only undid all that Cromwell had obtained for his nation, but marked the lowest stage of degradation into which the Company had sunk during the time. The country-powers were not slow to realise this position. The years between 1667 to 1688 furnish an unbroken record of the Company's factories in the Archipelago being sacked, their agents assassinated and

(19) Factory Records, Vol. VII, Introduction, page xvii.

(20) Tavernier who was on board a Dutch ship has preserved a lively description of the encounter. Tavernier, *Balls Edition*, Vol. I, page 312.

(21) Factory Records, Vol. VII, Introduction, page xvii.

(22 & 23) Pepys' Diary, 9th and 15th February, 1663-64.

themselves expelled from various places (24). The only redeeming feature was the completion of the forts York and Marlborough on the south coast of Sumatra to protect the island against the Dutch.

The accession of William of Orange to the English throne, to a great extent eased the situation, and for a time the entire energy of the two nations was being utilised against the ambition of Louis XIV. All throughout the 18th century the Dutch pursued the same narrow and exclusive spirit in the East with which they had begun their career there. From the first to the last the spice-trade of the Moluccas and Banda islands engrossed their attention. They failed and refused to understand the mighty changes occurring in the political arena of India, and remained the idle spectators of the march of events in the great continent—events which eventually paved the way of their rivals, the English, to Empire. Clive's victory at Plassey opened their eyes and they made a desperate effort to expel the English from Bengal, but they were ignominiously repulsed by Colonel Forde. Their maritime supremacy had passed into the hands of their hated rivals; and in the Napoleonic Wars, all their colonies in the East were lost to the vast sea-power organised by the Company and their Government at home, to oust the French and their henchmaid, the Dutch, from the Eastern Seas.

II. If there was necessity of defending the infant trade from the rivalry and rapacity of European powers, there was as much need of collecting materials of merchandise from the different parts of the country, of concentrating them at important sea-coast centres and then finally transporting them to Europe for the realisation of that great profit which was the principal motive of the early agility of the European powers. The vastness of the Indian sea-board and the growing number of ports from Gujrat to Hugli, pointed to the need of an efficient coasting traffic service. The two great emporiums of trade were Surat and Bantam, and the incoming and outgoing ships kept up a constant line of communication between the two headquarters and the subordinate factories under their jurisdiction. The general insecurity of the land-route during the period under survey made it incumbent to avoid the land as much as possible. The inland factories and the importance of some of them rendered transport by land often unavoidable. This was, however, always attended with risk. Thus a letter from Tulcidas, the Company's broker at Broach, informed that the English Caravan near Broach was plundered by 500 Rajputs, and that Abel Druce and Walter Kiddie were killed (25). In the same way is recorded the death of John Drake within a month of the previous occurrence (26). Again it is mentioned, "alike in Rajputana and Gujrat large band of robbers lurked in the hills, and caravans proceeding to the sea-coast were likely to be attacked unless strongly guarded...in Lower Sind the hill tribes gave much trouble:

(24) Sir George Birdwood, Report on the Old Records of the India Office, page 222.

(25) President Methowld's Diary, January 10th to March, 1637, Factory Records, Surat, Vol. I, page 526.

(26) Letter of Henry Branford at Rajapur to the President and Council at Surat, February 21, 1637.

in Gujrat the Kolis came plundering almost to the gates of Ahmedabad " (27). Peter Mundy in his wide "travels" in India, especially from Agra to Patna and back and from Agra to Surat, gives a graphic account of the depredations carried on by organised robbers, and this again inspite of the condign punishment to which the criminals were subjected (28).

It is this condition of inland traffic which pointed to the great work rendered by the English sea-power in arrying on coast-line transport service. By the year 1640, the Presideit and Council at Surat had at their disposal quite a fleet of small country built vessels with which to carry on the port to port trade, supply the various coast factories and collect goods to be transported to England in the ships that annually came from "home", thus enabling the latter to return within a few months of their arrival (29). Moreover, the growing volume of trade in the East led England to experiment in building larger ships. "The Company's trade having now become much extended, their yards at Deptford was found too small for their ships and they therefore purchased some copyhold ground at Blackwall...where they opened another dockyard, and built the Royal James, of 1,200 tons, the largest merchant ship yet seen in England" (30).

III. Another great danger to which the trade of the English, and as a matter of fact of all powers in the East, lay exposed was the extensive piracy practised in the Eastern Seas. It was again that sea-power came handy to deliver trade from this great and general menace. "The northern parts of Malabar, Kanara, the Konkan were nets of pirates from early days down to quite modern times" (31). Piracy was being systematically practised in these parts from time immemorial. Thus says Pliny, "at the present day voyages are made to India every year; and companies of archers are carried on board, because the Indian Seas are infested with pirates" (32). Marco Polo describes at length the method of organised piracy carried on in these parts. "More than 100 corsair vessels cruised these seas annually. Those pirates take with their wives and children and stay out the whole summer. Their method is to join in fleets of 20 or 30 of these priate vessels together, and they form what they call a sea cordon, that is, they drop off till there is an interval of 5 or 6 miles between ship and ship, so that they cover something like a 100 miles of sea, and no merchant vessel can escape them" (33).

(27) Factory Records, Vol. VI, Introduction.

(28) Mundy records that living marauders were built up in towers on road-sides as a warning to their compatriots.

(29) Report of President Methowl, Surat Records, page 241.

(30) Sir George Birdwood, Report on the Old Records of the India Office, page 217 under date 1640. It is worthy of note in this connection that the "The Great Henry" of the Royal Navy in 1522 was only about of 1,000 tons. The largest ship in Elizabethan navy the Triumph commanded by Frobisher was of 1,100 tons burden.

(31) Fryer's East India and Persia, Vol. I, page 164. Publication of the Hakluyt Society.

(32) Pliny, Natural History, Vol. VI, page 23.

(33) Marco Polo, Yule's Edition, Vol. II, page 324.

The Portuguese as late as 1673 used to equip two fleets annually, one to be sent to the south called Armada do Sul to purge the southern seas of the Malabar corsairs (34). The English in spite of their caution paid heavy tolls to these pirates. The Factory Records abound in stories of the havoc perpetrated by the Malabar pirates. The small vessels engaged in coasting traffic were the usual victims of piracy. In 1639 even so large a vessel as the *Mary* was attempted while going down the western coast. Early in 1640, President Frebleu wrote from Swalley to the Company, "have just learn, by letters from the Captain of Diu that 8 Malabar 'prowes' put to the sea and overtook the *Hope* whom they assaulted and surprised, emptied her of all fraught goods on her... The ship was taken back by Portugal Frigotts ...but not an Englishmen in her who in the fight were either slaine or captived" (35). In the same letter the President begs the Company for the supply of men and ammunition, "otherwise they must lay up these small vessels, rather then bury the nations honour in their ruines." The freight goods lost in the *Hope* are said to value Rs. 200,000 and the Englishmen on board the ship numbered 13. The same year no less than four more ventures were made on the Company's shipping. They sometime even ventured to sail down the river Tapti on which stood Surat. Their depredations these years became so alarming that in April 1642 Thomas Berry, the Factor at Gombroom (Persia), wrote to the Company, 'the depredations of the Malabar pirates had deterred many of the Indian jounckes (Junks) from venturing to that part. There being noe more jounckes come hither this year then 14 from all places, whereas in former yeares there hath come to this port 50, 60, or sometimes more. The Mallavars doe so infest the Indian seas that many are fearfull to adventure forth" (36). Contingencies of this nature necessitated all the resources of the English to be put forth to the sea for fighting this great and insidious enemy of trade and humanity. Sometime the Company's ships would effect a junction with those of the country powers and try to stop the growth of the evil. Sometime again their whole sea-power would be put to the sea for a considerable part of the year to clear the seas of pirates. The whole area affected used to be surrounded with ships in the manner the Marquis of Hastings dealt with the Pindaris on the land years after. The pirates were often hard hit, but the evil could not be entirely eradicated. It must, however, be said to the glory of the early English sea-power operating in Eastern waters that it succeeded in keeping the Company's shipping more or less free from the rapacity of the southern pirates.

IV. Lastly, it was the command of the sea which enabled the early English traders to adjust their relations with the country-powers in times of need. Whatever wrongs, and they were many, they suffered at the hands

(34) Accounts of Pyrard de Laval, Vol. I, 439f. The same is corroborated by Dr. Fryer—India and Persia, Vol. I, page 153 (Hakluyt Society).

(35) Factory Records, Vol. VI, page 289.

(36) Factory Records, Vol. VII, page 38. The Civil War in England undoubtedly, as shewn before, had much to do with this depressed condition all around.

of the Indian powers, they had their revenge on the sea. Sea-power enabled them to hold more than they otherwise expected in the mainland of India. In 1611 Sir Henry Middleton, apprized of the hostile intention of the government of Surat, seized three ships which belonged to the city. This had the result of all Englishmen detained in the city being delivered into his hand. "This exertion produced compliments, provisions, and promises of trade" (37). The same experiment was repeated on a bigger scale by Hawkins in 1612, who, having returned to the Red Sea, seized all the ships that came from the coasts of India to Mocha. "The ransom of the ships from the Mughal's country was to compensate the injuries he had lately received at Surat. In 37 days he stopped and detained 15 ships" (38). The real fruit of this exertion was enjoyed by the commander of the next voyage, Captain Best, who forced the Governor of the city to sign a treaty highly advantageous to the English. "Imprimis, that all which concerneth Sir Henrie Middleton be remitted, acquitted and cleared to us; that they (the government) shall never make seizure, stoppage, nor stay of our goods, wares, and merchandises, to satisfye for the same... All men and goods which may be taken by the Portugalls to be recovered by government without any charge...that in all questions of wrongs and injuries done to the English nation, justice be rendered without delay or exorbitant charge" (39).

In November, 1620, the same remedy was applied by the Surat Council with considerable success when the forces of Malik Amber had ransacked and seized the English property within the state of Ahmadnagar. The English helped themselves by seizing a Deccan junk, and the Surat Council adopted a resolution that the next year 'another Red Sea voyage should be undertaken for the capture of Chaul and Dabhol ships' (40). In the next two or three years, both at Agra and in the Deccan, the situation of the English became extremely desperate, because of the retaliatory measures taken by them at sea to redress their losses on shore. Malik Amber, for the spoliation of the Dabhol junk, drove them from the south and laid an embargo on goods that the factors at Ahmadabad were preparing to send to Surat. At Agra complaints from the Sindh merchants led to the imprisonment of the factors Hughes and Parker and possession taken of their goods, money, papers, etc. President Rastell and the Council at Surat writing on May 11, 1622 to the Muslipatam factory thus describe the situation: "Such is the increased heighte of presente insolencie and our miserable thraldome per a troubled estate in the country as that besides the enforced restitution of 23,000 lares that were lawfully taken out of a Portugall vessel, and 10,200 rupees in satisfaction of certaine surprised provisions else, whose worth could not amount to 1,000 at most, they have now full five months detained our merchants prisoners in Agra" (41).

(37) Orme, *Historical Fragments*, page 322.

(38) Orme, *Historical Fragments*, page 324.

(39) Voyage of Captain Best. Publication of the Hakluyt Society.

(40) Factory Records, Vol. I, Introduction, page xxx.

(41) Factory Records, Vol. II, pages 79 and 80.

Orders were given for the factors to withdraw from up-country, and together with those at Ahmadabad and Burhampur to get down to Surat by the appointed day. All this was part of a general scheme for the concentration of the factors at Surat and moving their entire sea-power to give effect to the long cherished plan of seizing all the Indian junks returning from the Red Sea and thus forcing a general redress of grievances. On February 27, 1623 commenced a bombardment of Dabhoul by the Company's ships, the *Blessing* and *Reformation*, for wrongs sustained from Malik Amber's troops. Junks of Dabhoul, Gogha, Diu and Surat fell by turns into the net kept ready on the sea to entrap them. Captain Hall anchored at Swalley, October 5, 1623, with eight Indian junks under his guns. President Rastell and his Council also embarked on the *William* with the avowed intention of not returning except upon the grant of terms to their liking (42). All this produced a general consternation, and Bahadur Khan, the Governor of Surat, declared that all the forces of the Mughal Empire were powerless against a single European ship. All attempts at retaliation having failed, the Governor was constrained to come to terms. The English got back most of their actual losses during the past few years; they were allowed to re-occupy their factories; several minor forms of oppressions were provided against; their goods were freed from land tolls, etc. Thus the English won all along the line. Next year the Emperor Jehangir, in retaliation for all that had happened, issued a firman "to the apprehending of our persons, restitution of our recoveries, and lastlie our expulsion out of his countrie... all of us imprisoned and in irons, etc." (43). The final agreement, which modified that of the previous year, still left the English in possession of much power and privileges.

Even Sivaji had often to check his otherwise unimpeded career before the gates of the Company's factories for fear of the in-inevitability of the English on the sea and the sure retaliation the latter were to have there for wrongs suffered on shore. In 1679, Sivaji had to feel the weight of this power when his armada was worsted off Henry Kenry and the place occupied in return for the wrongs that the factors sustained at Rajapur within Sivaji's territory (44). But never before or after was the position of the Company rendered more hopeless than when the Great Mughal, Aurangzeb, declared a war of expulsion against the English in 1688. Everywhere the factors were seized and put in fetters, their goods scattered and looted and the factory doors closed. In 1689, the Company retired from their factories in Bengal to Madras (45). In the same year, their factories at Vizagapatam and Masulipatam were seized by the Mughals and the factors massacred; and Bombay was pillaged up to the 'Castle Walls' by the Sidi of Jinjira (46). For the last time the English had more or less to abandon the country and

(42) Factory Records, Vol. II, page 283.

(43) Surat Letters, Thomas Rastell and Council to the Company—February 14, 1625, page 56.

(44) Surat Records.

(45) Sir George Birdwood, Report on the Old Records of the India Office, page 86.

(46) Sidi of Jinjira—Commander of the Mughal Fleet.

find shelter in their ships. There they were the entire master of the situation. The proposed bombardment of Chittagong and Balasore (47), the embargo laid on the ships conveying pilgrims to Hijjaj, the seizure of Mughal junks on both sides of the Indian Peninsula, and finally the bait held out by them to assist the Great Mughal in his naval war against the king of Arakan and the Portuguese pirates of the region, brought about a changed condition of things. The English recovered their lost power and prestige; and once again their sea-power obtained them a victory against the greatest of the country powers, and secured their interests in the land of India for all time to come.

P. C. MUKHERJI.

(47) Wilson—Early Annals of the English in Bengal.

The Begam of Moti Jhil.

GHASITI BEGAM,* the eldest daughter of Nawab Aliwardi Khan, filled a prominent place in the history of Bengal during the 18th century. With her life are intimately connected some of the incidents which led to the rupture between the English East India Company and Nawab Siraj-ud-daula, a rupture which culminated in the battle of Plassey, the downfall of the Nawab and the foundation of the British Empire in India.

Ghasiti was married by her father to his nephew Nawazish Muhammad Khan, who was made Governor of Dacca by the Nawab. Wild in his youth, Nawazish had settled down with age and, being childless, adopted as his son Ikram-ud-daula (Fazl Quli), the younger brother of Siraj, who became the only comfort of his life.

Zain-ud-din Ahmad (Haibat Jang), father of Siraj-ud-daula, had been killed by some mutinous Afghan mercenaries (1747), and with him too had perished his father, Haji Ahmad. Nawab Aliwardi, leaving aside the claims of his two surviving nephews Sayyid Ahmad the Governor of Purnea, and Nawazish Muhammad—proclaimed Siraj-ud-daula, as his heir in 1752.† From that time Nawazish began to reside chiefly at Murshidabad with his wife. Ghasiti hated Siraj, while Nawazish's ministers, Husain Quli and his successor Rajballav, appear to have been instrumental in setting up their master as a thorn in the path of Siraj's ambition. Siraj had good grounds to be apprehensive of his uncle, for Nawazish had vast riches and was very popular on account of his mild forgiving disposition and his extensive charities to the poor and friendless. But Nawazish was not destined to live long. Brooding over the death of his adopted son, he fell seriously ill, and his life was despaired of.

Aliwardi, who had already lost one of his nephews, was sorely grieved to learn the condition of Nawazish. He had him immediately brought to his palace, with his consort, and called in eminent physicians, but to no effect. Ghasiti, although actually in her father's house, trembled lest Siraj, her inveterate enemy, should confine her there, and she planned her escape. Putting herself in a covered chair together with her husband, she repaired to her own lodgings, where the patient ultimately died (December 1755).‡

* Ghasiti Begam, originally named Mihr-un-nisa (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 109), was popularly called Chhuti Begam, because her husband was known as the Chhuta Nawab. Later, she came to be called the Begam of Moti Jhil, owing to her residence in the Moti Jhil (Lake of Pearls).

†Serafton's *Reflections*, p. 52.

‡*Mutaqherin* (ii. 127) gives the date of Nawazish's death as 13 Rabi II, 1169 H. (=16 Jany. 1756). This is certainly incorrect, as Mr. Watts, the Chief of the English Factory at Cossimbazar, reported the death of the Chhuta Nawab in his letter, dated 17th December, 1755,—*Public Procdgs.* 20-12-1755, p. 534.

His body was carried to Moti Jhil, a country seat just outside the city of Murshidabad, which he had built and decorated, and here he was buried. (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 127).

Aliwardi was afflicted with dropsy in his old age and began to sink rapidly. The reins of government virtually fell into the hands of Siraj-ud-daula. Nawazish was his avowed enemy, and Ghasiti with the hoarded wealth of her husband had retired to Moti Jhil. Siraj was in pressing need of money—one of the most powerful engines of war, and he cast longing looks on the property of his wealthy aunt. A pretext for quarrel was not wanting. He ordered his aunt to send him the severed head of Mir Nazir Ali, who had stained the honour of the royal family by frequent nightly visits to her bower. She loved Mir Nazir Ali and could not be expected to carry out this inhuman order.* The quarrel between her and Siraj now blazed forth. The old Nawab Aliwardi tried every means to reconcile them, but in vain.

Ghasiti feared—and with reason—that Siraj, once placed on the masnad of Murshidabad, would not only maltreat her, but would also rob her of her property. She declared for Murad-ud-daula (the infant son of Ikram-ud-daula), whom she had adopted as her sole heir, and set up her ward as a rival for the throne against Siraj. She distributed elephants and lakhs of rupees to the troops of her deceased husband and thus raised a large force. Then she fortified herself in the Moti Jhil castle with Nazir Ali.† She was materially assisted in these preparations by a very shrewd man, her diwan, Rajah Rajballav.

Immediately after the death of Nawazish, Siraj had called upon his minister—Rajballav—then at Murshidabad, for an account of his uncle's affairs, in order to ascertain the indebtedness of his estate to Government for the revenues of Dacca. But the faithful minister would not disclose anything detrimental to the interests of his mistress, and for this act he was kept under strict surveillance. He was, however, after a few days set at liberty at the request of Amina, the Nawab's mother.‡ Rajballav was fully aware that his devotion to the interests of his mistress had for ever prejudiced Siraj against him, and that the latter would take vengeance when he came to the throne. He, therefore, declared himself a partisan of Ghasiti Begam.

The end of the old Nawab was drawing near and Rajballav felt it very necessary to ensure the safety of his family and property then at Dacca. He immediately wrote a letter to Mr. Watts, the Chief of the English Factory at Cossimbazar, saying that his family in the course of their intended pilgrimage to the Jagannath Temple at Puri, would visit Calcutta, and begging permission for them to stay there for a couple of months.§

*Trans. of extracts from a MS. entitled *Revolutions in Bengal*, see Hill's *Bengal*, III. 217.

†*Mutaqherin*, ii. 156; Narrative of the Succession of Siraj-ud-daula, etc. by Governor Drake, dated 19 July, 1756.—Hill's *Bengal*, i. 119.

‡Letter from J. Z. Holwell to the Court of Directors, dated Fulta, 30 November, 1756.—Hill's *Bengal*, ii. 3.

§*Ibid.* 119-120.

Rajballav had considerable influence over Ghasiti, and his power at Dacca might be of the utmost consequence to the Company's affairs there. Moreover, Siraj was their enemy and Ghasiti was conspiring to thwart his ascent to the throne, and therefore if she succeeded it would be of great benefit to the English. As Rajballav was Ghasiti's right-hand man, the English Company readily consented to Rajballav's proposal, and gave a safe asylum to his family, including his son Krishna Das, on their arrival at Calcutta.

A long series of deaths favoured the accession of Siraj-ud-daula to the throne. He was now free from all possible rivals, except Murad-ud-daula, the protégé of Ghasiti Begam, and his cousin Shaukat Jang, the Governor of Purnea, who had succeeded his father Sayyid Ahmad (d. 6 Feby. 1756). But neither of these rivals was formidable, although their alliance might be dangerous. Shaukat Jang grew jealous of Siraj and, it was suspected, kept up a secret correspondence with Ghasiti. The British thought the accession of Siraj an impossibility owing to his evil reputation,—at any rate a disputed succession was anticipated in some quarters. Nawab Aliwardi set himself to avert this. In order to ensure the succession of his favourite grandson, he drew together on the side of Siraj the most influential people at his Court, including his kinsman Mir Jafar, who swore on the Quran to stand by him. But while labouring at the hopeless task of reconciling Siraj with his aunt Ghasiti, the old Nawab died on 10th April, 1756.

Aliwardi was scarcely buried when Siraj-ud-daula proclaimed himself Nawab of Bengal. The next day, to secure himself against his aunt, he surrounded the castle of Moti Jhil so completely that no one from outside could enter it. Strong for defence though the castle was, most of the Begam's troops, despairing of the succour promised by the Governor of Purnea, evacuated it on the third night. At this time Sharf-un-nisa, the widow of Aliwardi, entered the castle to persuade her daughter to make a peaceful surrender by assuring her of the security of her life, liberty and property. Ghasiti agreed to these terms, but demanded in addition that her lover, Nazir Ali, should be allowed to leave Bengal under a safe conduct. The young Nawab readily agreed.

Ghasiti was prevailed upon to disband her troops and return with her attendants to the harem of the Nawab. But on her arrival, she was immediately thrown into confinement, her officers and soldiers were pardoned and taken into Siraj's service, and her palaces and property seized and confiscated to the State.*

Having thus settled his score with the Begam to his entire satisfaction, Siraj now bought off the Wazir of Oudh, who had threatened an attack on Bengal, by means of a part of his aunt's wealth, which common report had magnified to 32 crores of rupees.

*Siraj's expedition to Moti Jhil,—*Mutaqherin*, ii. 185-86. *Hill's Bengal*, ii. 2; iii. 217-18.

Siraj had now to deal with Shaukat Jang, the Governor of Purnea, and the English, who had been allies of Ghasiti Begam. The English had not yet pulled down the fortifications around Calcutta, erected during the illness of Aliwardi, contrary to the established laws of the country. They had also harboured Krishna Das at Calcutta, who had carried off a fortune which partly belonged to Ghasiti,* and they had declined to surrender him at the Nawab's demand. These are two of the important reasons which animated Siraj against the English. He seized their Factory at Cossimbazar, marched upon Calcutta, and became master of Fort William (June 1756). The surviving English traders retired to Fulta, ordered up reinforcements from Madras, and waited for a suitable opportunity to wreak their vengeance.

Siraj next encountered the army of Shaukat Jang, who had not recognized his accession but raised the standard of rebellion. In the fight that ensued near Rajmahal, the Governor of Purnea was shot dead (16 Oct. 1756).

(Siraj's triumph now seemed to be complete; but in reality his end was only hastened by the removal of every rival from his path. He had made himself sole master of his country and Court, but in so doing he had alienated several *grandees* of his Court, notably Mir Jafar, and they now sedulously applied themselves to overthrow him. With the disappearance of the Governor of Purnea they felt that the English were the only Power which could stand against him, and they joined with these foreign traders in a conspiracy against the Nawab, in which material assistance was rendered by one of his ancient enemies,—Ghasiti Begam.

"She now leagued herself secretly with Mir Jafar Khan, and gave him much assistance, by making interest in his behalf with every one whom she thought to have conserved some attachment to her concerns. To these she presented, by the means of trusty advocates, a long list of the wrongs she had endured. To these she sent secret messages, to claim at their hands all the rights which Aliwardi Khan's daughter, and Nawazish Muhammad Khan's consort, must have acquired over their gratitude. She recalled to their minds all the favours they had received from her family, recapitulated the violences she had suffered, and exhorted them to join Mir Jafar Khan. And as in the moment that preceded the capture of Moti Jhil, she had contrived to secret some gold, by the means of some trusty old women and eunuchs, she now took care to distribute it adroitly; and she even sent some to Mir Jafar Khan. This General on his side distributed his money wherever he thought it would be effectual; and he exerted himself

*"Always led away by the idea that he would not have sufficient influence to get himself recognized as Subahdar they carried on a correspondence with the Begam, and withdrew to Calcutta the treasures which she wished to put in a place of safety and also those of Rajballav her chief diwan. It is even said they had an understanding with the Nawab of Purnea."—Trans. of the first part of a Memoir by M^{rs}. Jean Law, Chief of the French Factory at Cossimbazar. Hill's *Bengal*, iii. 103.

so well in taking in his pay every disbanded soldier, and every hungry adventurer he heard of, that he soon assembled secretly in his house and in his quarter a very respectable force. Affairs being now come to that point; and every one of the grandees tending to one common centre in view, which was to remove Siraj-ud-daula; every one pointed his efforts that way; every one, firmly persuaded that the concurrence of the English was a necessary piece to the completion of his wishes, was exhorting them to break with that Prince. Jagat Seth was one of the foremost of them, and he had also the best opportunities. By the means of his mercantile agent, Amin Chund, one of the principal bankers of Calcutta, he was perpetually exciting the English to a rupture." (*Mutaqherin*, ii. 228).

The result of the activities of the conspirators was the battle of Plassey, which decided the fate of Bengal in favour of the English, who raised the arch-traitor—Mir Jafar—to the masnad of Murshidabad.

Siraj was foully murdered by order of Miran, the brutal son of Mir Jafar. The perfidious man did not remember the obligation which past favours from the house of Aliwardi ought to have imposed upon him. He shut up in a prison the consort of Aliwardi Khan and her two daughters as well as Lutf-un-nisa, the widow of Siraj-ud-daula, with her infant daughter. When they had undergone the rigours of prison life for some months, they were packed off to Dacca in some miserable boats (December 1758).

Miran was evidently bent on removing every obstacle from his path. Strangely enough, he even suspected Ghasiti and Amina of being his enemies, although they were now in exile, forgotten, and reduced to poverty and distress. He repeatedly wrote to Jasarat Khan, the Governor of Dacca, to put those aged and unfortunate ladies to death. But Jasarat was a generous soul and owed his bread and preferment to those ladies and to their deceased husbands. He replied by begging that a successor might be appointed in his place, as he wished to be excused from carrying out such an odious task. Miran was then busy making preparations to lead an expedition against Khadim Husain Khan (nephew of Mir Jafar) who was at that time creating disturbances on the other side of Patna, and he therefore deputed a friend of his to Dacca with instructions to induce his intended victims to embark in a boat by deceitfully giving them to understand that they would be sent to Murshidabad, and to sink the boat in mid-stream.

Preparatory to this iniquity, Ghasiti and Amina were conveyed to a lonely place. But Miran's real intention was betrayed by the emotion and tears of his agent. "Mother", said he to the eldest sister, "You have eaten nothing the whole day; eat something, for you are going to take a long journey, and—" here he was interrupted by his own tears and sobs.

Ghasiti took fright and shed tears, but the younger Amina endeavoured to console and pacify her: "Sister", said she, "Why such fears and why weep? We are destined to die one day; let that day be this." Here she

paused, and assuming a calmer tone added: "Sister, as we have been great sinners ourselves, we ought to thank God, that we are offered this method of expiation, and that we are not going without having placed our own load on the shoulders of Miran."

The Begams, after performing the purifying ablutions (*wazu*) and putting on clean clothes, begged God to pardon their sins, and then bade the man execute his master's orders. The agent seeming to hesitate, they both raised their hands, and Amina exclaimed, "O God Almighty, we are both sinners and culprits, but we have done no harm to Miran. On the contrary, he owes everything in the world to us, nor have we had any other return from him than this unjust order to put us to death. We hope, therefore, that after our death, Thou sendest Thine lightning to crush his guilty head, and to exact from him a full revenge on our own account and on that of our children." After these few words, they joined their hands together and sought a watery grave (June 1760).*

Their last prayer was heard. A few days after this tragic event, when Miran was in pursuit of the vanquished rebel Khadim Husain, a thunderbolt descended amidst a rainstorm, and struck him dead (1 July 1760).†

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJEE.

**Mutaqherin*, ii. 281, 368-370. See also *Riyaz-us-salatin*, p. 381; *Jamii-t-tawarikh* in Elliot, viii. 428-29; Holwell's *An Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock*, p. 45.

†Select Committee Procdgs., 24 July, 1760, vide *An Abstract of the Early Records of the Foreign Dept., 1756-1762*—S. C. Hill, p. 65.

Burials in Calcutta: 1775-1781.

EXTRACTS from the old Burial Register of St. John's Church have already been published in *Bengal: Past and Present*, commencing with the year 1713 and ending with the year 1774:

1713 to 1755: Vol. X, pp. 257 to 284.

1759 to 1761: Vol. V, pp. 136 to 142.

1762 to 1774: Vol. VI, pp. 92 to 106.

By the courtesy of the Rev. Canon Parker and the Rev. O. W. Birch, chaplains of St. John's Church, we have been able to arrange for a transcription of the entries from 1775 to 1788. These have not been easy to decipher, and our thanks are due to Mr. Birch for the pains taken by him to verify some of the most difficult cases. The instalment now printed covers the period between 1775 and 1781.

1775.

- Jan. 2. Joseph Decruse, belonging to the invalids.
.. 2. John Bailey, invalid.
.. 4. William Bensley, Supernumerary.
.. 12. William Wood, Junr. Merchant, in ye Hon'ble Company's Service (1).
.. 14. Mr. Reeves, in the Marine Service.
.. 16. Robert Gurner, invalid.
.. 17. Robert Kettle, matross (2).
.. 19. Lawrence Flanagan, invalid.
.. 27. Thomas Loskin, soldier.
.. 27. William Parker, invalid.
.. 30. Alexander Guet, inhabitant.
.. 31. John Hastings, inhabitant.
Feb. 2. Captain Mackenzie, inhabitant.
.. 5. Joseph Pollard, inhabitant.
.. 9. Mr. Wheelhouse, cadet of artillery.
.. 17. Mrs. Baker, inhabitant.
.. 23. John Massey, inhabitant.
Mar. 2. John Latter, inhabitant.
.. 9. William Brian, mariner.
.. 11. Mrs. Ann Dyer, inhabitant.
.. 12. James Harris, invalid.

(1) William Wood—Sub-Accountant, 1774.

(2) *Matross*—Dutch *matroos*, "sailor" Cf. Capt. G. Smith's *Universal Military Dictionary* (1779). "Matrosses are properly apprentices to the gunner; they assist in loading, firing and spunging the guns".

- Mar. 14. William Murray, invalid.
 „ 14. William Gannel, matross.
 „ 16. Mrs. Stivers, inhabitant.
 „ 20. Joseph Shutter, invalid.
 „ 30. Ulrick Hollar, Sergt. Major.
 Apl. 1. John Casey, inhabitant.
 „ 3. Lieut. Ring.
 „ 3. Mary Wedderburn, a child.
 „ 4. John Carrolls, a child.
 „ 6. William Holiday, inhabitant.
 „ 6. Harvey Godfrey, sergeant.
 „ 22. Henry Fosset, inhabitant.
 „ 24. Francis Quaringle, inhabitant.
 „ 24. Mr. Henry Hazard of ye Northumberland E. Indiaman.
 May 1. Martha Gibson, inhabitant.
 „ 8. John Wittingham, soldier.
 „ 17. John Cumming, pilot.
 „ 22. Justina Hancock, inhabitant.
 „ 23. Peter Vergue, servant to Mr. Montaigut (3).
 „ 23. John White, soldier.
 June 4. Philip Croftes, inhabitant.
 „ 7. Thomas Young, inhabitant.
 „ 7. A young woman belonging to Capt. Sheils.
 „ 10. Mr. Grant, late Surgeon of the Anson Transport.
 „ 14. Mr. John Robinson, Capt. of Seapoys in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 15. Francis, a servant of Capt. Hogg.
 „ 20. Charles Meers, invalid.
 „ 21. George Hardgrave, supernumerary.
 „ 22. Mary Peacock, daughter of Mr. Francis Peacock.
 „ 24. Peter Phroe, invalid.
 July 3. Mr. John Finlater, inhabitant.
 „ 5. Thomas Burns, inhabitant.
 „ 6. Thomas Harris, serjeant.
 „ 7. Thomas Jenning, inhabitant.
 „ 7. William Craddock, inhabitant.
 „ 16. James Murray, inhabitant.
 „ 21. George Davidson, inhabitant.
 „ 22. William Dudley, soldier.
 „ 22. William Lillyman, an infant.
 „ 23. William Jones, inhabitant.
 „ 29. John Clarke.
 „ —. Samuel Middleton, Esqr., President of ye Board of Commerce, died on his way to Monghyr (4).

(3) *Samuel Montaigut*—Sheriff of Calcutta in 1776: Mayor, 1773.

(4) See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIX, p. 46.

- Aug. 1. George Beer, Pilot.
 „ 4. Thomas Forbes, Pilot.
 „ 5. Alexander Forbes of ye 4th Company of Artillery.
 „ 12. William Dixon, inhabitant.
 „ 15. William Thompson, soldier.
 „ 17. Susannah Le Gallais, an infant (5).
 „ 18. Mr. James Irwin, inhabitant.
 „ 18. Lawrence Fox, soldier.
 „ 19. James Stalk, invalid.
 „ 19. James Gardiner, inhabitant.
 „ 20. Gilbert Man, belonging to the *Britania*.
 „ 22. John Morrison, soldier.
 „ 26. Richard Nelson, invalid.
 „ 27. Thomas Shepherd, soldier.
 „ 27. John Battersby, mariner.
 „ 28. John Peter, invalid.
 „ 30. Samuel West, invalid.
 „ 31. John Robinson, a mattross.
- Sept. 1. Michael Reiby, inhabitant.
 „ 2. William Elvin, invalid.
 „ 3. Thomas Watts, invalid.
 „ 13. Capt. Watkin, inhabitant.
 „ 16. Edward Longbottom, invalid.
 „ 17. John Fleet, in the marine service.
 „ 20. William Onion, an infant.
 „ 21. James Fisher, soldier.
 „ 22. James Demarrin, inhabitant.
 „ 27. John Blewitt, invalid.
 „ 27. James Bayles.
 „ 30. James Hyde, inhabitant.
 „ 30. William Dirley, of ye Artillery.
- Oct. 1. James Leborn, of the *Salisbury* Indiaman.
 „ 2. James Horex, of the 5th Company of Artillery.

(5) *Susannah le Gallais*—Daughter of Francis le Gallais, tavern-keeper, who provided dinners and suppers for the counsel and attorneys during the trial of Nuncomar at the Old Court House. It was the habit of Richard Barwell to entertain his men friends once a fortnight at "Le Gallais' Tavern in Town"; and Grand had gone to sup with him there when he received the news that Francis had been surprised in his wife's room. Le Gallais went to Europe in 1780: cf. Hicky's *Bengal Gazette*: "Francis Le Gallais, formerly Master of the Tavern and Hotel in Calcutta, and since a considerable Wine Merchant has taken the whole of the great cabin of the Danish Indiaman, Captain Kroger." He must have returned, for he died in Calcutta in 1791. The name survived. The erection of a Town Hall by means of a lottery was determined upon at a meeting held at Le Gallais' Tavern in 1792: and at another meeting on September 4, 1793, it was resolved to pay to Devis Sicca Rs. 20,000 for the portrait of Lord Cornwallis, which is now at Belvedere. Burrowes Le Gallais and Mangeon announce on May 5, 1796, that they have "taken that commodious house in Council House Street formerly the Bengal Bank" and are "fitting it up in the most convenient and modern style for the accommodation of routs, balls, concerts, dinners and suppers".

- Oct. 5. Mr. Edward Greaves, inhabitant.
 „ 6. James Twinley, soldier.
 „ 7. Thomas Williams, inhabitant.
 „ 8. Alexander Grant, invalid.
 „ 9. Joseph Pitt, inhabitant.
 „ 10. Lionel Darrell, an infant (6).
 „ 10. George Dixon, belonging to the marine service.
 „ 10. Peter Grant, invalid.
 „ 13. Peter Stewart, an infant.
 „ 15. John Warner, inhabitant.
 „ 15. James Craigie.
 „ 17. Richard Dick, soldier.
 „ 19. John Pennington, invalid.
 „ 20. Benjamin Penn.
 „ 24. George Dutch, soldier.
 „ 27. William King, invalid.
 „ 28. Thomas Rogers.
 „ 29. Thomas Gunning, soldier.
 „ 29. John Lee.
 „ 30. Abraham Potts, invalid.
 „ 30. William Piper, invalid.
 „ 31. William Baxter, invalid.
 „ 31. Henry Donald, belonging to the Marine Service.
 „ 31. John Taylor, of ye Artillery.
 „ 31. John Lawrence, Supernumerary.
- Nov. 1. John Tunliston, inhabitant.
 „ 3. James Smyth, inhabitant.
 „ 4. John Davis, Supernumerary.
 „ 6. John Hale, inhabitant.
 „ 6. Tyso Saul Hancock, Esq., Physician (7).
 „ 7. Andrew Fryer, invalid.
 „ 13. Daniel Pemble, Supernumerary.
 „ 13. Andrew Robson, inhabitant.
 „ 13. Thomas Earle, soldier.
 „ 14. John Loyd, an infant.
 „ 16. Charles Young, supernumerary.

(6) *Lionel Darell*—son of Lionell Darell of the Company's Service, afterwards a baronet, M.P., for Lyme Regis and Hedon, and Director of the East India Company from 1780 until his death in 1803. The child was baptized on August 27, 1775.

(7) *Tyso Saul Hancock*—Friend of Warren Hastings. Married Philadelphia Austen, the aunt of Jane Austen, at Cuddalore in February 1753. He was appointed Head Surgeon at Devicottah in 1751, and received permission to remove to Bengal in 1759: but resigned the appointment of Surgeon at Fort William in 1761, and was nominated "supernumerary at the Presidency but not to rise" in 1770. On November 30, 1760, he asks for a *dustuck* to trade as a covenanted servant. His epitaph is given in the *Bengal Obituary* where it is stated that he was 64 at the time of his death. He was buried in the South Park Street Cemetery where his tomb may still be seen.

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- Nov. 16. Joseph May, invalid.
 „ 17. Aaron Arnett, sailor.
 „ 20. James Scardiss, invalid.
 „ 20. Lieut. Bucknell, in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 20. Lawrence Henley, Artillery.
 „ 21. William Vernon, soldier.
 „ 21. John Blimfield, invalid.
 „ 25. John Leach, soldier.
 „ 26. John Shewald, supernumerary.
 „ 26. William Copland.
 „ 27. Francis Taylor, supernumerary.
 „ 29. George Brey, Artillery.
 „ 30. John Thiorns, supernumerary.
 Dec. 1. Thomas Huggins, invalid.
 „ 2. John Hutchins.
 „ 2. Alexander Liberton, invalid.
 „ 3. John Keplam, inhabitant.
 „ 3. John Putnam, Artillery.
 „ 5. John Collins, soldier.
 „ 5. Joel Richards, invalid.
 „ 6. William Oliver, soldier.
 „ 8. Amelia Parry, an infant.
 „ 10. Alexander Macdonald, soldier.
 „ 11. Isaac Necker, of ye Artillery.
 „ 12. John Walker, soldier.
 „ 13. Mr. William Combe.
 „ 14. William Johnson, soldier.
 „ 14. William Applin, invalid.
 „ 16. John Brunham, invalid.
 „ 18. George Hutchinson, soldier.
 „ 20. Charles Towey, invalid.
 „ 21. Nicholas Smith, seaman of ye Colebrooke.
 „ 25. John Forbes, soldier.
 „ 26. Charlotte Fortnom, an infant (8).
 „ 26. Anthony Atkins, soldier.
 „ 28. Mrs. Grace Ferguson (9).
 „ 29. Benjamin Patterson, supernumerary.
 „ 30. Michael Granckle, sailor of the Dolphin.

1776.

- Jan. 1. William Davis, Sergeant of Seapoys.
 „ 4. John Orr, invalid.
-

(8) Baptized on the previous day. The daughter of Colonel John Fortnom, who married Jane Yates on September 3, 1767. He was appointed "Director of the Works" in 1772.

(9) *Adam Fergusson*—Attorney of the Mayor's Court, died on August 29, 1774.

- Jan. 4. George Sturk, soldier.
 „ 5. John Grover, invalid.
 „ 5. Offsona Brix, an infant.
 „ 5. William Douglas, writer in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 7. Joseph Hornbuckle, invalid.
 „ 7. Jeremiah Gerrard of ye Marine Service.
 „ 9. [W.] Beckwith,, Attorney at Law.
 „ 10. John Gardiner of the Military.
 „ 13. Thomas Deane Supernumerary.
 „ 15. Henry Lyon, Supernumerary.
 „ 16. Mr. Edward Crouch, inhabitant.
 „ 16. John Claxton, soldier.
 „ 16. William Askew.
 „ 20. Robert Harris, soldier.
 „ 21. John Butter of ye Artillery.
 „ 23. John Morris, invalid.
 „ 26. William Howard, invalid.
 „ 26. Jacob Johnson, Cook.
 „ 20. John Hanson, soldier.
 „ 28. Mr. John Penn, inhabitant.
 „ 30. William Dining.
- Feb. 1. Anne Mackintosh, a child.
 „ 1. William Hampton, a child.
 „ 3. John Ellis, Sergeant of Seapoys.
 „ 5. John Stewart, soldier.
 „ 5. John Jones, sergeant of ye Militia.
 „ 7. John Sayle, inhabitant.
 „ 7. Joseph Bainber, inhabitant.
 „ 9. William Browne, a child.
 „ 11. Peter Hanson, invalid.
 „ 11. Mr. Joseph Law.
 „ 16. Charles Ross, soldier.
 „ 16. James Moffat, inhabitant.
 „ 18. The Right Hon'ble Lady Anne Monson (10).
 „ 18. John Watson, late of ye Pilot Service.
- Mar. 2. James Collins, invalid.
 „ 4. John Birch, inhabitant.
 „ 5. Mr. Dennis Morrison, Captain of a country ship.
 „ 6. Elizabeth Burlington, a child.
 „ 6. Alexander Sutherland, invalid.

(10) Cf. Annual Register 1777, where the date of death is given (strangely enough) as September 14: "Lady Anne Monson, wife of the Hon. George Monson, one of the members of the Supreme Council of Bengal and sister of the Earl of Darlington: in the East Indies." Colonel Monson, who was her second husband died at Hooghly on September 26, 1777: and they were buried side by side in the South Park Cemetery. The graves remained nameless for a hundred and thirty-two years: but an inscription was placed upon them in 1909 by the Government of Bengal at the instance of the Calcutta Historical Society.

- Mar. 8. Mr. Richard Kelly, inhabitant.
 „ 9. John Miller, a child.
 „ 11. John Crawl, a child.
 „ 12. John Curtis, invalid.
 „ 12. Margaret Bevis, a child.
 „ 14. Samuel Carnall, a child.
 „ 15. Joseph Ackers, a child.
 „ 17. Ann Macarthy, a child.
 „ 17. James Hamilton, invalid.
 „ 17. Daniel Campbell.
 „ 20. Charles Edman, invalid.
 „ 21. Charles Addison, a child.
 „ 24. Elizabeth Leneier, a child.
 „ 25. Sarah Robinson, a child.
 „ 26. John Drummond, a child.
 „ 26. John Brow, a child.
 „ 31. Mr. J. Hamilton, a pilot in the Company's Service.
 „ 31. John Robinson, a child.
- Apl. 1. Ann Ogden, a child (11).
 „ 1. William Young, Supernumerary.
 „ 3. William Blanshard, inhabitant.
 „ 4. Lawrence Ellis, a child.
 „ 4. Mr. John Sykes, writer in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 6. Naney Obrien, a child.
 „ 7. Peter Grose, a child.
 „ 10. Robert Allingham, a child.
 „ 12. Ensign John Sharpe, in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 14. Charles Wordie, a child.
 „ 15. Mathew Saxby, soldier.
 „ 16. William Bedman, inhabitant.
 „ 18. Edward Ellis, a child.
 „ 19. Elizabeth Grant, a child.
 „ 22. Bethayer Mammer, soldier.
 „ 24. Samuel Dacosta, a child.
 „ 26. Robert Bryson, a child.
 „ 26. Samuel Turnbull, invalid.
 „ 26. James Lever, soldier.
 „ 27. Thomas Sadler, inhabitant.
 „ 27. Andrew Alexander of ye Marine Service.
 „ 28. Margaret Grant, a child.
 „ 28. John King, a child.

(11) When William Hickey came to Calcutta in 1777, he took a house, "delightfully situated on the Esplanade, open to the Southward and Eastward", which belonged (he says) to "Mrs. Ogden, the widow of a pilot then recently dead". But James Ogden, "late pilot", died on June 8, 1782: and the registers of St. John's Church show also that Hugh Darley married Ann Ogden, widow, on February 11, 1784.

- Apl. 29. Benjamin Ashe, a child (12).
 „ 29. George King, a child.
 May 3. John Renny of the 5th Company of Artillery.
 „ 4. Thomas Proby, supernumerary.
 „ 7. Robert Mildram, servant to Mr. Justice Hyde.
 „ 7. John Wilson, a child.
 „ 7. Martha Brayson, a child.
 „ 8. William Jackson, a child.
 „ 10. Thomas Bourk, invalid.
 „ 10. Robert Cunderstrap, a child.
 „ 10. Jacob Jonson, drummer.
 „ 10. Phillip Lawes, supernumerary.
 „ 16. Benjamin Ashe, a child.
 „ 16. Thomas Goddard, invalid.
 „ 17. Elizabeth Middleton, a child.
 „ 23. John Pipe, soldier.
 „ 25. John Stanby, soldier.
 „ 25. John Newton, corporal.
 June 3. Elizabeth Pezzy, a child.
 „ 4. Mr. Robert Cholmondely, writer in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
 „ 5. Lieut. John Cammeron, in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
 „ 5. Thomas Lamb, inhabitant.
 „ 7. Edward Walb, soldier.
 „ 10. Thomas Broad.
 „ 16. Nicholas Rillah, a soldier.
 „ 16. Mathew Mcnamara, soldier.
 „ 26. Edward Parry, a child.
 „ 28. John Cummings, inhabitant.
 July 2. John Monkarch, soldier.
 „ 10. Jonathan Chapman, supernumerary.
 „ 16. Mr. Thomas Shaw, inhabitant.
 „ 23. Richard Draker, invalid.
 „ 23. George White, soldier.
 „ 25. William Hooly, a child.
 „ 26. John Cooper, invalid.
 „ 26. Ambrose Monckton, invalid.
 „ 29. John Nicholson, invalid.
 „ 29. Henry Smith, of the 5th Co.'s Artillery.
 Aug. 1. Mr. John Henry, ensign in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
 „ 2. John Wright, invalid.
 „ 2. Timothy Connor, soldier.
 „ 3. Mr. Finch, taylor.
 „ 5. George Deane, mate in the pilot service.
 „ 5. John Prichard, sailor of the Greenwich.
 „ 10. Mr. Lewis Dramgal, midshipman of ye Greenwich.

- Aug. 10. George Gillard, sailor.
 „ 12. Joseph Haugh, sailor.
 „ 14. Robert Barnfather, inhabitant.
 „ 16. William Hardie, mate of a country ship.
 „ 17. Mr. Joy, carpenter.
 „ 18. Benjamin Browning, invalid.
 „ 18. John Reed, mattross.
 „ 19. Mr. Charles Hodgman.
 „ 19. Charles Haslam.
 „ 19. Mr. John Davies, writer in ye Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
 „ 20. Mr. Richard Hawker, pilot.
 „ 21. Mrs. Ross, inhabitant.
 „ 21. John Henry Mcnale, a child.
 „ 21. Charles Langford, soldier.
 „ 24. Thomas Lindsay, invalid.
 „ 28. Francis Cannon, soldier.
 „ 29. Mary Shewen, an infant.
 „ 30. John Jones, sailor of ye Greenwich.
 „ 31. John Ewer, pilot.
 „ 31. Mr. James Capper, writer in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service upon the
 Madrass establishment (13).
 „ 31. Joel Deer, soldier.
 Sep. 3. Joseph Goodchild, soldier.
 „ 3. James Barker, invalid.
 „ 3. Thomas France, of ye artillery.
 „ 6. Mr. William Henry, gardener of ye pilot service.
 „ 7. Thomas Spriggs, invalid.
 „ 7. John Gaswin, of a country ship.
 „ 8. James Ferguson.
 „ 11. Thomas Knightson, soldier.
 „ 11. Mr. Neale, captain of a country ship.
 „ 16. Abraham Bodley, inhabitant.
 „ 21. Mary Thompson.
 „ 21. George Knight, soldier.
 „ 22. James Scott, sergeant.
 „ 24. William Cooper, sailor of ye Greenwich.
 „ 26. The Hon'ble George Monson, Colonel of His Majesty's 50th
 Regiment of foot, Member of the Supreme Council of Bengal
 (14).
 „ 26. Edward Fabin, inhabitant.

(13) James Capper : Writer at Fort Saint George, 1770 : appointed to be a Factor in 1776, the year of his death.

(14) Son of the first Lord Monson, and brother of the second baron. Served in the Carnatic War and was severely wounded at the siege of Pondicherry in 1760, where he was second in command under Coote, M.P. for Lincoln 1754 to 1768 : aide-de-camp to the King 1769. Aged 40.

- Oct. 1. Thomas Fowler, inhabitant.
 „ 3. Mary Hoare, a child.
 „ 7. Thomas Linnel, soldier.
 „ 8. Domingo Dalruz, invalid.
 „ 8. John Edgwell, soldier.
 „ 10. Patrick Lindsey, an infant.
 „ 11. John Lamb, invalid.
 „ 11. Edward Roberts, an infant.
 „ 11. Mary Roberts, an infant.
 „ 13. John Sykes, soldier.
 „ 14. Benjamin Carne, captain of a country ship.
 „ 17. Mr. Arthur Adie, inhabitant.
 „ 19. Robert Stephen Burgh, inhabitant.
 „ 19. Mr. Hercules Durham, inhabitant (15).
 „ 19. Mrs. Eleonara Watson, inhabitant.
 „ 22. Mr. Francis John Sykes, writer in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 26. Samuel Watson, an infant.
 „ 27. Mr. Robert James Gould, inhabitant.
 „ 28. John Flanagan, inhabitant.
- Nov. 2. Samuel Walter, a child.
 „ 4. Mr. Stephen Lymbery, inhabitant.
 „ 5. William Kimber, invalid.
 „ 5. Nicholas Clinton, sailor of ye Shrewsbury.
 „ 6. Mr. Clarke, inhabitant.
 „ 8. John Lambert, soldier.
 „ 10. Samuel Hoyle, sailor of the Duke of Cumberland.
 „ 11. Mr. Thomas Price, inhabitant.
 „ 11. Joseph Barnes, sailor.
 „ 13. Salmon Crawley, sergeant.
 „ 13. Robert Dunlop, soldier.
 „ 17. John Rudd, invalid.
 „ 18. Edward Parker, invalid.
 „ 21. James Bailey, sailor of ye Shrewsbury.
 „ 21. George Hitherton, inhabitant.
 „ 21. John Smith, sergeant.
 „ 23. William Thomas, a child.
 „ 23. Leonard Retfield, late of the marine service.
 „ 24. William Lanskett, soldier.
 „ 24. Samuel Carnell, inhabitant.
 „ 24. William Sennet, inhabitant.
 „ 25. William Dare, Leut. in ye Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 27. Edward Shewen, captain in ye Hon. Co.'s Military Service and
 aid-de-camp to the Governor-General.

(15) *Hercules Durham*—admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on January 7, 1775, and acted as counsel for the Crown in the Nuncomar case.

- Nov. 29. James Macfarlan, soldier.
 „ 30. Charles Combs, invalid.
 Dec. 1. Thomas Wheeler, invalid.
 „ 2. Donald McDonald, invalid.
 „ 3. Thomas Frohock, invalid.
 „ 4. Jane Robertson, a child.
 „ 6. Mr. Knelans, sergeant.
 „ 7. James Jolley, inhabitant.
 „ 8. John Dimmeging, invalid.
 „ 8. Mrs. Francis Bassett.
 „ 10. Mr. Robert Browne, sail maker.
 „ 10. Thomas Barnard, invalid.
 „ 10. Henry Young, sailor.
 „ 11. David Oxspring, invalid.
 „ 12. Mr. Richard Morgan, inhabitant.
 „ 12. Jacob Walker, invalid.
 „ 15. Stephen Langley, invalid.
 „ 15. William Thompson, sailor of ye Shrewsbury.
 „ 17. William Bowman, inhabitant.
 „ 18. Michael Grey, Invalid.
 „ 18. Lieut. Robert Maxwell, of the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.
 „ 18. Stephen Harman.
 „ 20. Thomas Pearson, invalid.
 „ 20. James Jordon, a child.
 „ 20. Benjamin Bolton Booth, invalid.
 „ 20. John Duncan, supernumerary.
 „ 21. John Witman, invalid.
 „ 21. John Bolton, soldier.
 „ 23. Thomas Pegott, supernumerary.
 „ 24. Thomas Dawlin, inhabitant.
 „ 25. Edward Byneley, soldier.
 „ 27. Catharine Gascoine, widow.
 „ 27. William Hillyard, inhabitant.

1777.

- Jan. 1. William Wigmore, soldier.
 „ 1. Thomas Woffington, soldier.
 „ 4. William Martin, invalid.
 „ 6. William Handel, invalid.
 „ 8. Andrew Coster, inhabitant.
 „ 13. John Maclean, a child.
 „ 15. William Todd, invalid.
 „ 16. Barnby Quin, supernumerary.
 „ 16. John Collucate, inhabitant.

- Jan. 22. Mr. Joshua Nixon, inhabitant (16).
 „ 25. Mrs. Williams.
 „ 25. John Coffe, invalid.
 „ 26. Mr. Biggs, inhabitant.
 „ 29. John Gurson, invalid.
 Feb. 1. Peter Dillaway, invalid.
 „ 1. William Pinion, invalid.
 „ 7. William Clarke, inhabitant.
 „ 10. Mary Cornish, a child.
 „ 11. Joseph Matthews, invalid.
 „ 12. James Frasier, invalid.
 „ 18. Mr. Lequin, inhabitant.
 „ 18. Mr. James Robinson, inhabitant.
 „ 18. Thomas Purney, soldier.
 „ 21. Thomas Craven, belonging to the Banksall (17).
 „ 21. Francis Pinnez, a child.
 „ 25. John Empson, of the marine service.
 „ 26. John Haywood, invalid.
 „ 27. James Fox, invalid.
 „ 28. Ezabel Evans, inhabitant.
 Mar. 7. John Crest, invalid.
 „ 7. Thomas Murphy, invalid.
 „ 7. Mr. Paul Arrendrupe, inhabitant.
 „ 9. Charles Smith, belonging to the Pilot Service.
 „ 18. Catherine Browning.
 „ 18. Samuel Ahmuty, a child.
 „ 20. Thomas Knight, corporal of artillery.
 „ 22. Thomas Gribbon, soldier.
 „ 24. Samuel Easty, soldier.
 Apl. 2. Mr. [T.] Woodward (19).
 „ 3. Robert Clarke, sergeant.
 „ 4. Mr. Peter Grant, cadet.
 „ 4. John Browne, inhabitant.
 „ 4. Henry Simpson, invalid.
 „ 8. Mr. Smith, invalid.
 „ 14. William Keaton, invalid.
 „ 14. Mr. Lindsey, captain of country ship.
 „ 15. Henry Brigers, invalid.
 „ 20. Mathew Sheridan, invalid.
 „ 22. Michael Slack, invalid.
 „ 23. David Dunn, soldier.

(16) The Company's Cooper.

(17) *Bankshall*—Hind—*bangsal*, "ware house", hence office of the Harbour Master. The situation of the Calcutta Bankshall, or Marine Yard, is indicated by the modern street of that name. The dock attached to it was filled up in 1808.

(19) Mayor of Calcutta, 1767.

Apl.	25.	Mr. William Swallow, inhabitant.
„	26.	James Webb, invalid.
„	27.	John Cooper, invalid.
„	27.	John Watts, inhabitant.
May	1.	Mr. Thomas Bryant, inhabitant.
„	1.	John Brown, invalid.
„	13.	James Muggage, soldier.
„	14.	Thomas Browne, matross of artillery.
„	17.	John Elsy, invalid.
„	28.	Thomas Harvey, a child.
„	29.	Mr. Collis, inhabitant.
June	3.	Randall Eaton, inhabitant.
„	4.	Mr. Knivet, inhabitant.
„	5.	Mr. [Matthew] Yeandle, Jailor (20).
„	8.	William Hopkings, soldier.
„	9.	Mr. Charles Williams, writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
„	9.	Mr. Merier, inhabitant.
„	10.	Mr. Warne, watch maker
„	10.	Mr. McNab, inhabitant.
„	12.	Samuel Sanders, supernumerary.
„	21.	Joseph Sutton, invalid.
„	26.	David Daniel, an infant.
July	3.	James Harrison, soldier.
„	4.	Edward Hands, invalid.
„	4.	Lewis Johnson, invalid.
„	4.	Ann Barnard, an infant.
„	5.	Elezabeth Durham, an infant.
„	12.	John Pitt, soldier.
„	18.	Mr. Brenwell, blacksmith.
„	19.	Peter Leopard, soldier.
„	19.	Joseph Cleverly, a recruit.
„	21.	Mrs. [Christiana] Keable, inhabitant (21).
„	21.	Mathew White, of the artillery.
„	27.	John Hutchinson, mates of the Comct Sloop.
„	27.	John Hendrick, invalid.
Aug.	3.	Mr. Howard, inhabitant.
„	9.	Edward Sanders, invalid.
„	9.	Edward Miller, inhabitant.
„	9.	James Smith, belonging to the Banksall.
„	13.	William Ayres, soldier.
„	16.	Andrew Hampton.
„	21.	James Ireland, soldier.

(20) *Matthew Yeandle*—Nuncomar was committed to his custody. A tent was eventually pitched for the prisoner on an outhouse inside the wall of the jail.

(21) *Christiana Keble*—wife of Page Keble, master attendant, who married again on July 3, 1782, his second wife being Elizabeth Metham,

- Aug. 22. Thomas Ford, invalid.
 „ 29. Henrietta Amelia Aldersey, an infant (22).
 „ 29. John Sullivan, invalid.
 „ 29. Mr. James Henry, inhabitant.
 „ 30. Lieut. General Sir John Clavering, K.B. (23).
 Sep. 1. Mr. Bride, writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 2. Thomas Stanhope, invalid.
 „ 3. William Kellen, soldier.
 „ 6. Major John Smith in the Hon'ble Company's Service (24).
 „ 7. John Hampton, an infant.
 „ 7. John Best, seaman of the Egmont East Indiaman.
 „ 13. John Duff, invalid.
 „ 14. Michael Seaman, recruit.
 „ 18. John Brickwood, belonging to the Valentine East Indiaman.
 „ 23. Mr. [J.] Briggs, master of the Hon'ble Company's Yacht
 [Speedwell].
 Oct. 1. George Parker, soldier.
 „ 2. Barnard Claney, invalid.
 „ 5. Thomas Muckle, seaman.
 „ 8. Joseph Fit, invalid.
 „ 8. James Stewart, supernumerary.
 „ 11. Mr. William Briggs, taylor.
 „ 14. John Mansfield, invalid.
 „ 14. Mr. Alexander Patterson.
 „ 20. James Forrest, soldier.
 „ 22. Benjamin Grist, soldier.
 „ 24. James Shackle, sailor belonging to the Houghton E. Indiaman.
 „ 24. John Durham, invalid.
 „ 26. John Baxter, supernumerary.
 „ 27. William Robertson, invalid.
 „ 27. John Deacon, invalid.
 „ 28. Mr. Thomas Braithwaite, writer in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
 „ 29. Mr. [J.] Driver, Attorney at Law.
 „ 29. James Dimsday, invalid.
 „ 29. Jacob Cossair, invalid.
 „ 30. Daniel Neal, invalid.

(22) The father William Aldersey was President of the Board of Trade from 1775 to 1779. He was one of the four civilians brought up from Fort Saint George by Clive in 1767 and as Second in Council acted as Governor of Fort William during the absence of Hastings up-country in September 1773. Married Henrietta Yorke in Calcutta on February 28, 1775.

(23) Colonel of the 22nd Regiment. Buried in South Park Street Cemetery where his tomb may be seen. He was 55 at the time of his death.

(24) Brother of General Richard Smith. On the Madras establishment. Came out with G. F. Grand in December 1775 on the *Greenwich* Indiaman. The first husband of Susanna Sophia Selina Debonnaire whom he married at Fort St. George on August 24, 1776, and whose second husband (married April 18, 1782) was Major Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe the father of Lord Metcalfe. (See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 208, 209.)

- Nov. 1. James Batchelor, soldier.
 „ 1. William Bradley, invalid.
 „ 4. Stephen Caesar Lemaistre, Esq., one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature (25).
 „ 5. Edward Lyons, seaman.
 „ 6. John Curtis.
 „ 6. Thomas Raney, soldier.
 „ 6. Thomas Bidley, seaman of the Duke of Kingston E. Indiaman.
 „ 9. Fredrick, Stiver.
 „ 10. Henry Parry, an infant.
 „ 11. Thomas Knight, supernumerary.
 „ 14. William Heyho, soldier.
 „ 14. John Parris, invalid.
 „ 16. William Magee, soldier.
 „ 17. James Lyons, soldier.
 „ 18. Edward Humphries, soldier.
 „ 20. Mr. Reed, Conductor of Artillery.
 „ 20. Edward Blunt, invalid.
 „ 21. Henry Browning, invalid.
 „ 21. Mr. Robert Richardson, inhabitant.
 „ 22. John Winfield, soldier.
 „ 22. James Patterson, Gunner of Artillery.
 „ 25. Matthew Abbs., recruit.
 „ 26. Francis Winwood, Bombardier of Artillery.
 „ 27. Joseph Wilson, invalid.
 „ 29. James Fround, soldier.
 „ 30. James Miller, pilot.
- Dec. 1. David Haughty, soldier.
 „ 3. William Morris, drum major of invalids.
 „ 3. Mr. Manuel.
 „ 4. John Sowson, invalid.
 „ 8. Mr. English.
 „ 10. James Henley, soldier.
 „ 10. Thomas Wilson, invalid.
 „ 11. Mr. Johnson, inhabitant.
 „ 11. Richard Then, invalid.
 „ 11. Robert Humphries, recruit.
 „ 11. Thomas Egan, surgeon's mate of the Kingston E. Indiaman.
 „ 12. John Daniel, invalid.
 „ 12. Samuel Sing, soldier.
 „ 14. George Kenset, invalid.
 „ 16. Thomas Humble, invalid.

(25) *Stephen Caesar Lemaistre* was 39 years of age at the time of his death. His grave in South Park Street Cemetery is close to that of the Rev. Thomas Yate (died 1782). It remained without an inscription until 1909, when the omission was repaired by the Government of Bengal, at the instance of the Calcutta Historical Society.

- Dec. 17. William Stacey, soldier.
 „ 18. Mr. Thomas Fryer, inhabitant.
 „ 20. Michael Prance, soldier.
 „ 21. Richard Deckin, invalid.
 „ 24. Mr. Richard Hintz, inhabitant.
 „ 24. Lieut. Dorrington, in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.

1778.

- Jan. 1. John Beer, a child.
 „ 4. Robert Turton, a child.
 „ 5. Mary Melicent Hastings Adams, a child.
 „ 10. John Sutton, mariner.
 „ 11. David Cuming, inhabitant.
 „ 12. James Percival, invalid.
 „ 13. Elias Knight, a recruit.
 „ 16. James Horsely, matross of artillery.
 „ 20. Alexander Lawson, inhabitant.
 „ 22. Cornelius Beckfield, invalid.
 „ 24. Mr. Pridie, purser of the Kingston East Indiaman.
 „ 26. John Mollineux, seaman.
 „ 26. Christian Jacobson, inhabitant.
 „ 27. Mr. James Reeves, inhabitant.
 „ 28. William Webster, invalid.
 „ 28. Jacob Jackson, invalid.
 „ 30. Thomas Mason, soldier.
 „ 31. Alexander Gourly, supernumerary.
- Feb. 2. John Money invalid.
 „ 5. Capt. Taylor of the Hon'ble Co.'s Military Service.
 „ 9. John Haply, invalid.
 „ 11. Jacob Speakman, inhabitant.
 „ 19. Peter Bliver, soldier.
 „ 21. John Justley, soldier.
 „ 22. George Thompson, seaman.
 „ 22. Benjamin Roberts, soldier.
 „ 23. John Ferguson, invalid.
 „ 24. Saint Andrew, invalid.
 „ 24. Thomas White, late sailor belonging to the Duke of Portland East Indiaman.
 „ 25. John Andrews, a child.
 „ 28. Thomas Batt, soldier.
- Mar. 1. Collin M'Kenzie, sergeant.
 „ 7. Mr. Fletcher, inhabitant.
 „ 7. Joseph Neebourn, a child.
 „ 9. Mr. Edington, inhabitant.
 „ 9. William Johnson, soldier.
 „ 9. Jane Gregory, inhabitant.
 „ 16. Thomas Sanders, matross.

- Mar. 17. John Johnson, a child.
 „ 17. Mr. Henry Leake, factor in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
 „ 18. Thomas Raper, corporal.
 „ 19. John Hector Munro, a child.
 „ 19. John Powell, soldier.
 „ 19. Mr. Craddock, inhabitant.
 „ 19. Thomas Welsh.
 „ 23. Thomas Maddock, supernumerary.
 „ 23. Mr. William Cotes, junior merchant in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service (26).
 „ 24. John Waite, invalid.
 „ 24. James Hayhurst, invalid.
 „ 27. Maria Walker, an infant.
 „ 29. William Waddle, sergeant.
 „ 30. Michael Milley, invalid.
 „ 31. Thomas Smith, invalid.
- Apl. 1. James Stuart, soldier.
 „ 4. Elizabeth Mclean, a child.
 „ 4. Phillip Armstrong, Sergeant Major of the Governor's Troop.
 „ 9. George Murwell, soldier.
 „ 10. John Spelman, soldier.
 „ 13. William Rogers, sergeant.
 „ 16. John Phillips, soldier.
 „ 17. Mr. Sicar, inhabitant.
 „ 20. Alexander McKenzie, a child.
 „ 22. Alexander Grant, inhabitant.
 „ 22. Ambrose Rorks, a child.
 „ 27. Mr. Runton, Deputy Jail Keeper,
 Fredric Christian Fischer, inhabitant.
 „ 28. Joseph Swaiger, inhabitant.
- May 5. Nancy Smith, a child.
 „ 5. Mary Williams, an infant.
 „ 9. William Nash, soldier.
 „ 10. Daniel Skinner, late of the Hon'ble Co.'s Marine Service (27).
 „ 10. Mrs. Higgs, inhabitant.
 „ 14. Nicholas Anderson, inhabitant.
 „ 14. Nancy Hunter, an infant.
 „ 15. Francis Hardinge, matross of artillery.
 „ 16. Panhellick Hensley, sergeant.
 „ 20. Mr. Johnson Baker, late Steward of the hospital.
 „ 20. Mr. David Pattens, Ensign in the Hon'ble Co.'s Military Service.
 „ 23. John Read, soldier.

(26) *William Cotes*—the first husband of *Diana Rochfort* whom he married on January 19, 1774: and who became the wife of Sir John Hadley D'Oyly, sixth baronet, on March 10, 1779. (See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 22 to 26).

(27) Master of the brig *Experiment*.

- May 23. John Harvey, soldier.
 „ 24. John Lowndes, inhabitant.
 „ 25. William Burr, invalid.
 „ 25. Mr. William Carmichael, inhabitant.
 „ 25. Ellen Smye.
 „ 26. Michael Berry, sergeant.
 „ 26. Joseph Starkes, soldier.
 „ 27. Mr. Daniel M'Cullum, inhabitant.
 „ 27. Mr. Lathan, writer in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
 „ 27. Thomas Wild, inhabitant.
 „ 29. Mayer Browne, sergeant major of artillery.
 „ 29. Luke Quin, constable.
 „ 31. Robert Basset, soldier.
 „ 31. Richard Jones.
 „ 31. Michael Buston, matross of artillery.
- June 6. Henry Cooper.
 „ 8. William Diamond.
 „ 9. Thomas Stokes, invalid.
 „ 9. Daniel Jones, mariner.
 „ 15. Thomas Taylor, soldier.
 „ 16. James Smith, inhabitant.
 „ 18. John Holland, soldier.
 „ 23. Thomas Gresey, invalid.
 „ 23. William Thomas, soldier.
 „ 25. Alexander Mcmanus, soldier.
- July 6. William Smith, late master in the pilot service.
 „ 7. Richard Wright, soldier.
 „ 9. John Wright, soldier.
 „ 12. Capt. Robert Boxe, of the Hon'ble Co.'s Military Service.
 „ 12. Henry Simpson, invalid.
 „ 23. John Reinwell, invalid.
 „ 24. Thomas Boxley, drummer.
 „ 27. Mrs. Wheler, wife of Edw. Wheler, Esq., Member of Supreme Council (28).
- Aug. 2. Michael Simmonds, corporal.
 „ 4. Joseph Harwood, supernumerary.
 „ 5. Barnet, inhabitant.
 „ 5. Mr. Alexander Johnson, free merchant.
 „ 6. Mr. Deane, pilot.
 „ 6. Richard Emmerson, invalid.
 „ 7. Daniel Sanders, invalid.
 „ 9. George Browne, soldier.

(28) The first wife of Edward Wheler. Her maiden name was Harriet Chicheley Plowden, and her brother was Capt. Richard Chicheley Plowden, Director of the East India Company from 1803 to 1829. Wheler married again on December 10, 1780, his second wife being Charlotte Durnford who had come out with them on the *Duke of Portland* Indiaman in 1777.

- Aug. 10. John Dowdey, soldier.
 „ 16. Mr. Whittle, inhabitant (29).
 „ 21. Mr. Rock, inhabitant.
 „ 24. Dolis, inhabitant.
 „ 25. Scott, sailor belonging to the ship *Resolution*.
 „ 26. John Ellis, mariner.
 „ 26. Paul Cain, inhabitant.
 „ 29. Mr. Desmond, inhabitant.
 Sept 2. Alexander Henry, natural son of Mr. H. Grant, free merchant (30).
 „ 3. Joseph Bliss, soldier.
 „ 3. Mr. John Staples, Attorney at Law.
 „ 7. Peter Thornton, invalid.
 „ 7. William Mackner, inhabitant.
 „ 8. Mr. Unam, pilot.
 „ 10. John Steel, mariner.
 „ 11. Robert Fleming, soldier.
 „ 13. Thomas Dunkin, soldier.
 „ 13. Daniel Campbell, supernumerary.
 „ 14. Mr. Wm. Graham.
 „ 17. Alexander Gatt.
 „ 17. Mr. Dennet Court, surgeon of the *Osterley East Indiaman* (31).
 „ 18. Joseph Barnes, inhabitant.
 „ 28. Mr. (M) Gunning, junior merchant in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
 „ 30. William French, soldier.
 „ 30. Clarke, Captain of the Hon'ble Co.'s Service, Marine.
 Oct. 1. John Carmichael, mariner.
 „ 2. Mr. Thomas Collins.
 „ 11. Mr. Macrae, inhabitant.
 „ 12. John Bullock, soldier.
 „ 13. John Hobson, soldier.
 „ 13. Francis Drew, soldier.
 „ 15. Charles Pash, belonging to the *Mount Stuart East Indiaman*.
 „ 15. John Simmons, soldier.
 „ 16. Edward Barnes, sailor.
 „ 17. David Langton, inhabitant.
 „ 21. George Rox, soldier.
 „ 21. Joseph Folkes, matross.
 „ 24. John Wathen, soldier.
 „ 25. Mr. (J) Roberts, captain of a country ship (32).

(29) W. Whittle, Deputy Master Attendant.

(30) *Henry Grant* was Agent for Army Clothing from 1773 to 1784. Married on March 29, 1779, Alicia Camac, sister of Major Jacob Camac. They acted in England as joint guardians, with Hastings, of the younger John Hadly D'Oyly, afterwards eighth Baronet.

(31) *Dennet Court*—was a shipmate of William Hickey on the *Plassey* which sailed from the Downs on January 3, 1769. Hickey met him again at Canton later on in the same year when he had become surgeon on the *Ashburnham* (*Memoirs* Vol. I, p. 212).

(32) Master of the brig *Dispatch*.

- Oct. 26. Mr. (D) McMurdo, captain of the *Britannia* in the Hon'ble Company's Marine Service.
- „ 27. Robert Freeman, soldier.
- „ 30. George Storey, matross.
- Nov. 5. John Woodbridge, soldier.
- „ 6. John Wilde, soldier.
- „ 6. Hugh Carr, soldier.
- „ 6. Joseph Wilby.
- „ 7. William Stevens, soldier.
- „ 8. John Newton, matross.
- „ 8. William Waters, soldier.
- „ 9. Mrs. Barwell, wife of Richard Barwell, Esq., Member of Supreme Council (33).
- „ 9. Francis Timberman, soldier.
- „ 9. Richard Josiah Maberly, a child.
- „ 10. Mr. Enville.
- „ 10. Thomas Crosby, soldier.
- „ 14. John Duggan, soldier.
- „ 14. James Dempster, soldier.
- „ 18. Barney Dublin, sailor.
- „ 19. Mr. Thomas Gale, 2nd mate of the *Osterley* East Indiaman.
- „ 20. John Lacy, matross.
- „ 26. Jeseph Brown, soldier.
- „ 26. Fredric Lennerley, soldier.
- „ 29. Robert Cooper, invalid.
- Dec. 1. Thomas Cross, soldier.
- „ 5. George Tyce, soldier.
- „ 5. John Herritage, soldier.
- „ 5. Charles Cobb.
- „ 7. John Hardy, soldier.
- „ 10. Joseph Sunwell, soldier.
- „ 11. Peter Hellebrand, soldier.
- „ 13. John Thompson, sailor.
- „ 18. Thomas Pilgrim, mariner.
- „ 19. Francis Lacount, corporal.
- „ 19. Thomas Hall, mariner.
- „ 21. Captain Charles Clarke of the artillery corps.
- „ 21. Richard Hill, soldier.
- „ 26. Martin Peters, Lewis Edwards & Phillip Powell, soldiers.
- „ 27. John Williams, seaman.
- „ 28. Robert Jones, soldier.

(33) Richard Barwell married Elizabeth Sanderson, a well-known Calcutta beauty of the time, on September 13, 1776. She was 25 years old at the time of her death. Her tomb was partially rebuilt in 1907 and an inscription placed upon it by the Government of Bengal at the instance of the Calcutta Historical Society. Lieut. Robert Sanderson, her father, married, "Miss Mary Coles, inhabitant" on January 7, 1750.

1779.

- Jan. 3. Mr. John Holmes, senior merchant in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.
 „ 3. William Wheeler, soldier.
 „ 4. Lawrence Langer Howson, sailor belonging to the Shrewsbury East Indiaman.
 „ 5. William King, drummer.
 „ 13. John Peck, matross of artillery.
 „ 13. Peter Foster, soldier.
 „ 15. Roger Harrison, sergeant.
 „ 24. Elizabeth Wilkins, an infant.
 „ 26. William Burgess, inhabitant.
 „ 30. Mrs. Goddard.
 „ 31. Mr. Richard Moreton, an Ensign in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
- Feb. 1. Thomas Butler, matross.
 „ 2. John Cook, invalid.
 „ 5. John Deacon, soldier.
 „ 6. Daniel Heffernan, soldier.
 „ 11. Henry Tailor.
 „ 20. John Forrester, carpenter.
 „ 27. Mr. Thompson.
- Mar. 1. William Souple, belonging to the marine service.
 „ 1. John Gordon, soldier.
 „ 2. Christopher Riche, soldier.
 „ 12. Joseph Rochinbeck, soldier.
 „ 14. Mr. William Alleys, lieut. fire worker.
 „ 20. Peter Clive, sailor.
 „ 24. James Higgins, mariner.
 „ 25. John Casey, sailor.
 „ 30. Mr. (John) Rosewell, senior merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service (34).
- Apl. 18. John Russhaw, soldier.
 „ 22. James Ayell, sergeant.
- May 3. John Newland, inhabitant.
 „ 3. James Anderson, gunner of artillery.
 „ 6. John Logan, sailor.
 „ 7. James Cox, soldier.
 „ 14. George Robinson, gunner of artillery.
 „ 16. Mrs. Craiggs.
 „ 17. William Clarke, inhabitant.
 „ 19. Mr. Kennedy.
 „ 21. Thomas Beach, sergeant.
 „ 24. Elizabeth Le Gallais.
 „ 25. Mr. (L. R.) Lancake, late a Lieutnt. in the Hon'ble Company's Service.

(34) John Rosewell—Naval Storekeeper.

- May 25. Mr. John Daniel.
 „ 29. Charles Stafford Playdell, Esqr., a member of the Board of Trade,
 Master in the Chancery in the Supreme Court of Judicature
 and Superintendent of Ye Police of this Town (35).
 „ 30. Barney Dorman, soldier.
 „ 31. John Brown, soldier.
 June 2. Mr. Knott, inhabitant (36).
 „ 2. Mr. Cooper, inhabitant.
 „ 3. Henry Scott, a child.
 „ 5. Richard Rostrick, mariner.
 „ 14. Lieut. William Wittet, in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 22. Joseph Robinson, soldier.
 July 3. John Horseman, constable.
 „ 10. Charles Browne, mariner.
 „ 11. Mr. Thomas Peele, inhabitant.
 „ 12. Edward Turpin, sergeant.
 „ 16. Charles Newman, a child (37).
 „ 16. John Flax, soldier.
 „ 19. Thomas Morrison, soldier.
 „ 19. Robert Vanbrugh, soldier.
 „ 22. John Hoggin, supernumerary.
 „ 27. James Dolman, inhabitant.
 „ 31. Henrietta Chambers, an infant (38).
 Aug. 16. John Dolphin, supernumerary.
 „ 17. Sarah Ayres, a child.
 „ 18. Samuel Aldrige, matross.
 „ 22. Lewis Brent, soldier.
 „ 22. William Thompson, soldier.
 „ 29. Andrew Shing, soldier.
 „ 31. Leut. Foster, late on the Bombay Establishment.
 Sept. 2. Robert Evans.
 „ 2. John Coppin, soldier.
 „ 3. William Greenways, a child.
 „ 7. Mr. Morrison, late captain of a country ship.
 „ 9. John Cooper, invalid.

(35) *Charles Stafford Playdell*—came out to Bengal in 1754 and was second at Judge at the time of the "troubles", when he took refuge at Fulta. Went to England in 1768 and returned in 1771. His first wife Elizabeth whom he married on February 23, 1759, was a daughter of John Zephaniah Holwell.

(36) Query: Is this the John Knott whose letter to "Mr. Nubkissen" (written from London on March 29, 1774) is printed by Mr. N. N. Ghose in his "Life of Maharajah Nub Kissen Bahadur" (pp. 26-29)? See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXV, p. 144.

(37) Son of Charles Newman, advocate of the Supreme Court and standing Counsel from 1776 to 1781 who was lost in the wreck of the *Grosvenor*, 1782.

(38) *Henrietta Chambers*—daughter of Sir Robert Chambers, Baptized in June 22, 1778. Buried in South Park Street Cemetery in the same vault as her brother Edward Collins (died 1781) her sister Jane Marriott (died 1780) and her grandmother Ann Chambers (died 1782).

- Sept. 9. Edward Drysdale, belonging to the Britannia E. Indiaman.
 „ 9. John Ducunday, sergeant.
 „ 11. John Munro.
 „ 11. Young, a sergeant.
 „ 13. Mr. Lee.
 „ 15. Captain David Smith, in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.
 „ 18. Samuel Platts, sergeant.
 „ 23. John Draper, sailor.
 „ 24. Mr. Charles Chalmers.
 „ 25. William Ward, matross.
 „ 28. Stephen Camp, gunner of the Britannia Indiaman.
- Oct. 2. Thomas Hemmy, matross of artillery.
 „ 5. Thomas Waters, of the marine service.
 „ 6. William Thompson, soldier.
 „ 6. Thomas Clark.
 „ 7. James Nelson, soldier.
 „ 8. Thomas Mason, soldier.
 „ 14. John Notley, soldier.
 „ 14. Mr. George Fletcher, writer in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 15. Thomas Clare, soldier.
 „ 22. Thomas Grady, invalid.
 „ 22. Mr. Flim, inhabitant.
 „ 27. John Blake, mariner.
 „ 29. Benjamin Franklin, soldier.
 „ 30. Murdoch McKenzie, soldier.
- Nov. 2. Thomas Eaken, invalid.
 „ 3. Mr. David Wright.
 „ 5. William Newland, gunner of artillery.
 „ 6. John Cockrell, mariner.
 „ 12. Captain Stephen McLeane.
 „ 13. James Turvey, soldier.
 „ 15. Mr. William Vertue, inhabitant.
 „ 17. Thomas Day, sergeant.
 „ 20. John Weston, soldier.
 „ 22. Mr. Lewis Cousins Laplant, junior merchant in the Hon'ble Company's Service.
 „ 25. David M'Swayne, soldier.
 „ 25. Darby Roger, soldier.
- Dec. 3. Thomas Leighton, inhabitant.
 „ 12. Samuel Wallis, soldier.
 „ 17. Phillip Stone, soldier.
 „ 18. Mr. James Barrow.
 „ 19. Elisha Rollins, soldier.
 „ 20. William Standford, soldier.
 „ 27. James Robertson, soldier.

1780.

- Jan. 6. John Andrews, soldier.
 „ 30. Mr. Champion, cadet killed in a Duel.
 Feb. 16. Mr. Shuman, late of Chinsura.
 „ 17. Eleanor Hampton, a child.
 „ 25. George Hurst, Esqr., Member of the Board of Trade.
 Mar. 6. Mrs. (Ann) Naylor, wife of Mr. Maylor, Attorney at Law (39).
 „ 11. Mrs. Ware, wife of Captain Ware.
 „ 18. Mrs. Bryan Glover (40).
 „ 30. Mr. George Hodgson, Secretary to the Revenue Department (41).
 Apl. 15. Mr. William Mitchell, Surgeon.
 „ 23. Mr. Cuningham, inhabitant.
 May 19. John Brown, an infant.
 „ 20. John Collis, inhabitant.
 „ 22. Mr. Gilkrist, Surgeon of the Fox East Indiaman (42).
 „ 27. John Vincent, sailor.
 June 17. Mr. Ellington, inhabitant.
 „ 28. Jessey Bateman, in infant.
 July 12. Joseph Green, inhabitant.
 „ 14. Miss Leonora Fix, daughter of Mr. Fix of Serampore (42A).
 „ 15. Mr. Boyce, commander of a country vessel.
 „ 17. Frederick Stukeley Foster, an infant.
 „ 27. William Spencer, a European carpenter belonging to Col. Watson.
 „ 29. Mr. John Boggs, late commander of the Amazon Sloop.
 „ 30. Mrs. Bedell, wife of Lieut. Bedell.
 Aug. 4. Mr. William Blackburn.
 „ 8. Mr. John Taylor, inhabitant.
 „ 18. Mr. (Thomas North) Naylor, Attorney at Law.
 „ 29. William Chapman.
 „ 30. Lieut. Col. Benjamin Wilding in the Hon'ble Company's Service (43).
 „ 30. Michael Hurly, inhabitant.
 Sep. 2. Peter Connor, gunners mate of the True Briton E. Indiaman.
 „ 7. Mrs. Durham, inhabitant.
 „ 7. Mr. Kernen, belonging to one of Ye Europe ships.
 „ 8. Mr. Charles Malortic, inhabitant.

(39) Ann Bertie married Thomas North Naylor, the Company's attorney, on September 17, 1778. Her husband died on August 18 in this year (1780). See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 161.

(40) *Bryan Glover* was an attorney and free merchant. Married Elizabeth Stuart Cockerell, the sister of Charles Cockerell (afterwards baronet) on April 9, 1779.

(41) *George Hodgson*. Appointed Secretary in 1779.

(42) "The Surgeon of an East Indiaman expired in the street after eating a hearty Dinner of Beef; the thermometer was at 98°"—*Hicky's Bengal Gazette* for June 3-10, 1780, No. XX.

(42A) John Leonard Fix was chief of the Danish Factory at Serampore from 1772 to 1778.

(43) Commanding sepoy corps of the Second Brigade.

- Sep. 20. Mr. Charles Pipon, inhabitant.
 „ 30. Mr. James Hossack.
 Oct. 8. Mr. William Powers, commander of a country vessel.
 „ 11. Mr. Dalrymple.
 „ 13. Mr. Joseph Dunford, captain of a country ship.
 „ 19. Mr. James Isnell, shipwright.
 „ 24. Lieut. John Bushby, in the Hon'ble Co.'s Military Service.
 Nov. 2. Lieut. Col. John Green, in the Hon'ble Co.'s Military Service (44).
 „ 19. Mr. Charles Lewis, Soderflycht.
 „ 24. Susannah Marriott, an infant.
 „ 26. Mr. William Philips, commander of a country ship.
 Dec. 3. John Burke, an infant.
 „ 30. Ensign Peal, in the Hon'ble Company's Military Service.

1781.

- Jan. 4. Mr. John Lomax, inhabitant.
 „ 8. Major Lewis Grant, in the Hon'ble Co.'s Military Service.
 „ 23. Patrick Dyer, servant to Mr. Justice Hyde.
 Feb. 9. Mr. Richard Smith.
 Mar. 4. Mrs. Mary Bowers, many years inhabitant of this place (45).
 „ 8. Elizabeth Richardson, an inhabitant.
 „ 14. George Marshall, inhabitant.
 „ 27. Henry Swinhoe, an infant (46).
 Apl. 4. Mr. Bogle, junior merchant in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service (47).
 „ 20. Robena, natural daughter of Mr. Parks, commander of a country vessel.
 „ 21. Robert Lloyd, belonging to the pilot service.
 „ 21. Edward Dyer.
 „ 23. John Winter.
 „ 25. Charlotte Wordie, an infant.
 * A copy and duplicate sent to England per Belmont & Neptune 30th April 1781. William Johnson, Chaplain.
 May 5. Mr. James Duckworth, surgeon.
 „ 6. Mr. John Moore, writer in the Hon'ble Co.'s Service.

(44) Commissary of Stores, 1775-1778.

(45) A survivor of the capture of Calcutta in 1756. According to Hicky's *Bengal Gazette*, "she concealed herself until after night in one of the warehouses in the Factory, from whence she made her escape on board a small vessel lying in the river opposite the Old Fort." Hicky has it that she was "figdgeted into the grave by fear of losing a large fortune which she had acquired by industry and frugality."

(46) The father Henry Swinhoe was admitted as an attorney of the Supreme Court in 1779, and died in Calcutta on October 27, 1808, aged 56. See *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVI, p. 166.

(47) George Bogle of Tibet fame: see *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 208. Was Commissioner of Law Suits from 1778 to 1779: and figures in William Hickey's *Memoirs* (Vol. II, p. 150) under the grotesque corruption of "Isaac Bonigh."

- May 21. William Lane, sergeant.
 „ 22. Mr. William Spencer, inhabitant.
 „ 23. Mrs. Diana Mullins, inhabitant.
 „ 25. John Townshend, inhabitant.
 „ 25. Lieut. Robert Young in the Hon. Co.'s Military Service.
 „ 29. Elizabeth Ann Wilson, a child.
 June 6. Joseph Cooper, inhabitant.
 „ 6. Mr. Blackwell.
 „ 9. Mr. Patrick Simpson, inhabitant.
 „ 13. Mr. David Groundwater, late Steward of the Earl of Dartmouth
 [Indiaman].
 „ 23. Mr. James Smith, inhabitant.
 „ 30. Archibold Pope, inhabitant.
 July 3. James Dennis.
 „ 3. Christian Lang, inhabitant.
 „ 9. Samuel Eysers, Esq., Lieut. of His Majesty's Nymphe sloop of war.
 „ 18. James Todd, carpenter.
 „ 27. Edward Bird, an infant.
 Aug. 5. Thomas Pearson, Esq., late a Major in the Hon. Co.'s Service
 (48).
 „ 5. Rebecca Vaughan, an infant.
 „ 8. Mr. Thomas Downs Wilmot, late commander of a country vessel
 (49).
 „ 9. Mr. John Davis.
 „ 14. Mr. William Maiben.
 „ 15. Mr. Andrew Mitchell.
 „ 21. John Gillies.
 „ 24. Mr. John Cleveland, surgeon (50).
 „ 27. Capt. McGregor, in the Hon'ble Co.'s Military Service.
 Sept. 19. Lieut. Lewis Mordaunt.
 „ 26. Joel Mouldson, inhabitant.
 Oct. 1. James Johnson, an infant.
 „ 2. Mrs. Harding, widow.
 „ 12. Mr. Thompson, commander of a country vessel.
 „ 27. James Pearse, invalid.
 „ 30. Mr. (James) Perkins, Attorney at Law.
 „ 31. Mr. Milne, chief mate of the Fortitude East Indiaman.

(48) Major Thomas Pearson : aged 42 years : was " Agent for Meer Jaffir's Gift to Army ". Married Sarah Irwin at St. John's Church on December 2, 1767. She died on September 9, 1768, aged 19. Her tomb is the oldest existing in the South Park Street Cemetery.

(49) Commander of the ship *Gocool Dutt*.

(50) *John Cleveland*—was William Hickey's shipmate on board the *Seahorse* in 1777 (Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 103). They lived together on arrival in Calcutta in Mrs. Ogden's house on the Esplanade (*ibid*, p. 133) but parted Company after a few months in April 1778. Hickey mentions (Vol. III, p. 147) that he " died of a bilious fever ".

- Nov. 4. Mr. Collins, a midshipman belonging to the *Fortitude East*
Indiaman.
„ 10. Edward Collins Chambers, an infant.
„ 29. William Blake.
Dec. 9. Sarah Williams, an infant.
„ 15. Mr. Lance, captain of a country vessel.
„ 16. John Brayson, sergeant.
„ 18. Mr. Burns Walker.

[The entries are signed at the end of each month by William Johnson,
Chaplain.]

EVAN COTTON.

An Account of our Party at Patna Attack- ing the City, the 25th June, 1763.

ON the 25th June about one o'clock in the morning the Troops were Ordered under arms and Divided into three Divisions which consists of as follows: The 1st Division—Capt. Charles Ernot Jacker, Lieut. Morris Roach, Ensign Hugh M'Kay, Private men, 44. The 2nd Division—Capt. Henry Somers, Ensign Sam Bluwitt, Ensign John Perry, Private men, 44. The 3rd Division—Capt. Ambroze Perry, Ensign Jno. Armstrong, Ensign Willm. Crawford, Private men, 44.

The Divisions being telled off and compleated we orderd the men into their Barricks as there was some drizzling rain; about a Qr. before 2 o'clock Capt. Carstairs came on the parade and ordered the Officers to their own Divisions and see that they were served 36 rounds each man; when compleated Capt. Carstairs called for Lieut. Thomas Puckering and Ensign John Guntree and ordered them to stay in the Gardens, with three or four Companys of the Aukward Seapoys, to take care of the Bagage. About 2 o'clock the whole marched to a mosk opposite Capt. Carstairs Gardens, when we passed the guns and here marched into the Road that leads from Mitipoor right to the Chuta Mutna of Patna, about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from Meer Abdoosta. About $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 o'clock took ten Harcarrahs in the Road way, put them under a Guard of Seapoys and kept them along with us, about 4 in the morning we escalated the Bastion on the south face of the city to the right of the Chuta Mutna, where we entered. All the time we were entering the Seapoys on the Cillasse kept a very heavy fire upon us, but did no damage, Capt. Carstairs finding it was impossible to stop them from firing, and that the Europeans was very much exposed to their fire, ordered us under a Bank that we might be more secure from their fire, and to halt till the next of the Europeans was got in, as there was only the 1st Division and $\frac{1}{2}$ the 2nd; the time that we were here was about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, to the best of my Judgment, and then marched from the west gate. In the way we was a little Trubbeled with the enemy in firing a few shott out from their straw houses, but did us no damage; when arrived at the gate-way met with no resistance, and found the gate shutt, we opened it and halted at this place a small time, where we found Serjt. Price of Capt. Tabby's battalion of Seapoys killed. We marched on from the gate opposite our Factory, when we came there the enemy had been routed by Capt. Tabby's Seapoys, but finding the gate shutt we opened and let Lieut. Downey with 3 Companys of Seapoys belonging to Capt. Turner's Battalion in, Capt. Tabby's Battalion still engaging in the front and Ensign John Bluwitt with some companies of Seapoys was engaging some of the enemy, that was inolged in

Meer Abdoola's House. We halted about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour and had something sent us out of the Factory, to refresh us. In this time there was a message arrived to Capt. Carstairs that the 3rd Division and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the 2nd were engaging in the main street. He immediately ordered us to face to the right and march to the west gate where we found them engaging some of the enemy in the main street. We joyned the 3rd Division and $\frac{1}{2}$ the 2nd and found a few of the enemys horse which we soon despersed, still we kept marching on, with the loss of a few men towards the Killa where we fired a shott or two, we not sceing any Body, but the Burgandasses who was making off as fast as they could, we left the Killa and marched for the east side where we halted 3 or 4 hours. Lieut. Downey and Lieut. Perry and Ensn. Krafts we despatched to the Killa as the enemy had got in again in a small time. After they were marched Ensn. Krafts came back and informed us that they were engaging the enemy very hott, but that Lieut. Perry was wounded and Lieut. Downey very much, and was not able to get off. In about 2 or 3 minutes, Lieut. Perry was brought in wounded, by a Seapoy. Still the Europeans remaining on the east Bastion, in about half an hour after Lieut. Perry was brought in, we was informed that the enemy had drove the Seapoy's that was with Lieut. Downey and that he was cutt to pieces; in a little time after this the enemy took possession of the Bastion that overlooked us. The Europeans gave them a fire and went to the right about and would not obey the word of command, but never stopt till they reached our factory, which [was] about 2 o'clock to the best of my judgment. I dont think there was above a hundred men of the enemy that drove us out of the City. Still kept firing from our Factory upon the Enemy the remainder of the afternoon, and kept up a small fire all the night. An account of the Officer's killed and wounded as follows:—Killed: Capt. Ambroze Perrey, 3rd Division; Lieutenant Downey, in the Seapoys; Lieut. M'Dowell, Quarter Master; Lieut. Reed, in the Artillery. Officers wounded as follows:—Capt. Charles Ernot Jacker, Capt. George Willson, Lieut. Richd. Perry. Serjeants and Private men wounded and killed in all:—Men wounded and killed, 37; Artillery men wounded and killed, 10.

June the 26th, 1763.—In the morning we began to canonade which the enemy returned and killed us a man or two, and we kept up a very brisk fire from the top of the house and our boats which the enemy did return. About 2 and 3 o'clock in the afternoon have a shot or two out of the Howit which did the enemy some damage, but they still kept a brisk fire upon us. Mr. Ellis and Messrs. Lushington, Hewitt and Capt. Carstairs went in to Mr. Ellis's room and held a council what was best to be done; in about half and hour it was determined to leave the Factory and proceed for Souja Dowlah's country, on that they sent Dr. Fullarton who talks the country language well. About 3 o'clock we had a chitt from Doctor Fullarton who acquainted us he had got 40 or 50 boats. In the evening, about 6, Capt. Wm. James Tabby was ordered out with his battalion of Seapoys to the Sand beyond the French factory to cover our retreat. At 8 went out of the Factory Mr. Ellis with the rest of the factory gentlemen employed from 8 to 9 in getting the money out which amounted to about a lack of

rupees. The Europeans and Capt. Turner's battalion of Seapoys marched out of the Factory about 11 o'clock to the best of my judgment. We took the Howet with us but only 30 rounds of grape. Lieut. Thomas Puckering was ordered to stay in the Factory for half an hour, after that we had marched out, and kept up a brisk fire on the enemy; about 2 we came to the Ground where was appointed to meet the boats but did not find them. We halted a minute or two, and we had intelligence that the boats were 2 coss in our front, we marched immediately for them and joyned about 3 o'clock and embarked immediately for the other side of the river. I was embarked on board Capt. Wilson's Budgerow with 30 men and Mr. Ellis, about 4 o'clock we arrived on the other side where we halted all the night.

June the 27th, 1763:—The morning strong gales with drizzling rain our boats employed in bringing over the Seapoys. About 10 o'clock the whole got over, we halted here till the afternoon. About 8 in the morning we were alarmed by a few stragling horse. The Howit* and some of Capt. Tabby's Seapoys advanced in the Tope in front, a Qr. guard mounted, which consisted of 30 Europeans and one Subelton, orders that the Companies to be reviewed at 4 in the evening the boats proceeded up the river with the wounded men.

June the 28th, 1763:—At day break we marched about one coss, and reached a village where we halted, and refreshed, till there in the afternoon, we found in the Fhusdar's house a cammel which we used the freedom of carrying along with us, and some carriage bullocks. We marched about 5 coss, and found out a village where we halted all night.

June the 29th, 1763:—At half past two this morning we marched, and our boats proceeded up the river, we came to Chuppra about 8 and a few of the gentlemen stopped there at our Factory where they found about 3 dozen of different kind of Liquors which was very agreeable to us for we did not carry any along with us, found also some turkeys with some other poultry which was divided amongst the gentlemen, and soldiers. We marched on a coss further, and halted in a Tope near a village, where we sent and alarmed two or three times, and ordered under arms, as there was a party of horse near us as we understood that the Fhusdar whose name is Ramnidu had collected about 1000 Foot and 200 Horse. To the best of my judgment, we marched off the ground about 4, and halted about 4 coss from hence. Capt. Turner's battalion having the rear guard, informed us that just as they left the ground, a party of the enemy's horse took possession, which made us keep a very good look out all night. We had intelligence from our boats that they had been pursued by some of the Enemy's boats from Budgepoore, and that they had taken two of our small boats, two of our Seapoys that was in that fray that was wounded came to us which made us very anxious about them, as they had both our money and Treasure on board them. Notwithstanding we did not endeavour to join them soon this evening which proved very unfortunate.

* Howitzer.

June the 30th, 1763:—We had no alarm all this night. We marched about 3. Scarcely could find anybody to be our guide as our chief's servants and harcaras had left him, our intention was to joyn our boats, we crossed a Nulla which was betwixt us and the river, we marched betwixt them, about 7 o'clock we saw in front a stand of red collours about a coss distance which we took to be some Chokee, but on our advancing pretty brisk on them we found there was about 50 Burgandasses. Immediately Capt. Tabby's battalion of Seapoys marched to right, in order to cut them off from the water, but they took to the water and most part of them was drowned, two or three took prisoner, but we could not learn anything from them. At this ground we intended to halt, till we brought up our rear and as we was no more than a coss from the place where we intended to embark, but hearing a firing in our rear, we found that our rear guard was attacked by the enemy, and they were advancing on us very brisk. Immediately beat to arms, and marched to meet them. They appeared in number about 2000 foot and 2000 horsemen. Our men were in very good spirits, and marched on in a very regular manner, and Capt. Turner's battalion behaved extremely well, and kept up a very brisk fire which did the enemy a great deal of damage, which put them to the right about. Still marching after them, when we came to the Nulla, the Europeans halted. Capt. Tabby's and Capt. Turner's battalions still pursuing the enemy. When we had crossed the Nulla the enemy began to canonade them very briskly, we think on account that one Summerow [Sumroo] with 5 or 6 Companys of Seapoys joyned them this day, with 4 or 5 piece of cannon. Marched out from the Nulla upon a good piece of ground, where we halted all this day and this night.

July the 1st, 1763:—Marched about 2 this morning along the river side to joyn our boats. About day break, saw the enemy, in a tope abreast of us, they marched out of the tope and crossed the Nulla and began to cannonade us very brisk, upon this we marched two or three passes in the front, as we was too nigh the river, and sat down that we might be more secure from the enemy's cannonade. About 10 we got the Howetz ashore, out of the boat, and fired a round or two of grape, but fell short of them. They still kept up a very brisk fire upon us, but did not do us any damage. Captain Carstairs was wounded by a cannon shott about 12 o'clock. We sent him over to the boats, to be dressed. Captain Tabby took the Command. We still remain in the same way; about 3 o'clock Mr. Ellis sent some gin over to the men. The enemy still kept a very brisk cannonading upon us. About 6 the enemy's left wing marched and joined their right wing, and came down on us. Immediately we marched down to front them, the enemy kept a very heavy fire with grape, which our people took a Pannick and went to the right about, and took the river. I finding that my platoon had left, made to the river, and swam over, and got to Capt. Wilson's Budgerow. Everybody in great confusion. Capt. Wilson finding it was all over with us, he immediately pushed down the river.

July the 2nd, 1763:—This morning was boarded by a Chowkey boat, gave them 20 Rupees and they let us go. Still kept going down the river,

saw a Jamidar with some Sepoys & an elephant, they fired a shot or two at us, but would not stop, but still kept driving down to Hodgepoor. About 3 arrived there, and delivered ourselves up to the Fhusdar. In number 6 of us, whose names are as follows: Capt. Carstairs, Capt. Wilson, Ensn. Armstrong, Ensn. M'Kay, Doctor Anderson and Mr. Campbell. Capt. Carstairs very bad of his wound. The people behaved very well to us, they did not take anything from us. Nothing more remarkable these four and twenty hours.

July the 3rd, 1763:—Captain Wilson went up to the Fhusdar, received a chitt from Dr. Fullarton who was a prisoner at Patna and acquainted us that he was extremely well used and would have us come over as soon as possible. Capt. Carstairs extremely ill of his wound and smelt very strong, this day the Fhusdar got a house to put Carstairs in, which removed him into & had Budgrew washed and cleaned. Capt. Carstairs departed this life about 4 in the afternoon, we applied to the Fhusdar for a coffin for him which we had made. Buried him about 5.

Had for dinner to-day some roast mutton & curry, the Fhusdar made Capt. Wilson a present of a Huckaw and 2 bottles of the country arrack which was very good. Nothing more these 24 hours.

July the 4th, 1763:—This morning came down the Fhusdar's son and took an account of our cloathing and things that we had in the boats, and acquainted us that we was to go Patna. Had for dinner to-day some mutton and curry; nothing more these 24 hours.

July the 5th, 1763:—The first part fair weather. The Fhusdar came down himself in order to go with us, he went in another boat, we reached Killa about 12 o'clock. Capt. Wilson was sent for up, we remained in the boat, as the Nabob was not yet come in from riding, about 2 we was sent for, and was received in a verry genteel manner by the Nabob, where we met Fullarton. He ordered us some Victuals, and gave us a betle [betel], which is a mark of friendship, and put us under care of his brother, who is an extremely good man, did all that lay in his power to oblige us. In the evening he called us into his own apartment, and sent for some Country arrack and entertained us in a genteelest manner. The Nabob himself came in and set himself down along with us, and talked very free with us, and Doctor Fullarton. About 8 Doctor Fullarton came and acquainted us that we were to set out for Mongheer to-night, but Capt. Wilson went to the Nabob's brother, and obtained liberty to stay this night. In the morning we set out about 8 o'clock, the Nabob's brother went with us to the water side and see our things in the boat. This day reached Bahar, our guard was very troublesome to us, for they shutt the Budgerow windows, and lashed their boats along side of us, halted there this night.

July the 6th, 1763:—This morning set out for Bahar, for Mongheer, and reached Gunje and lay there all this night, our Guard behaved a little better than the two days before; our boys went on shore and brought us some milk for our supers. Nothing more happened these 24 hours.

July 7th, 1763:—This morning set out from Nabob's Gunje for Mongheer, arrived below it about 5 o'clock, and was obliged to track up

to the fort, had for dinner to-day some rice and curry and lay very near the fort all this night and there was nobody come to ask us who we was, or what we were, whether men or beasts. Had for supper some rice and curry with some mutton stake. Still remaining in the Budgerow; nothing happened more these 24 hours.

July the 8th, 1763:—This morning gave some cloaths to the washerwoman, had for dinner to-day some rice and curry and stakes, received nothing from the Nabob to subsist upon, but still remaining in the Budgerow, nobody came near us but a dirty fellow of a Dutchman who had been in our service before. I judge he was sent by Gunger [query: Gurgin] Cawn, nothing more happens these 24 hours.

July 9th, 1763:—This morning have some more to the washerwoman to be washed. Still remaining in the Budgerow without anybody enquiring anything about us, received a chitt from Capt. Harris who informed us that they were allowed half a sear of coarse rice a man, and that he was prisoner with 3 more whose names are as follows:—Captain Johnson, Captain Place, Serjt. Anderews. Our Boy informed us that the Harcarry had got a purwannah to carry us up to Patna, still remaining here for want of dandye, had for dinner to-day some rice and curry; nothing more happened these 24 hours.

July 10th, 1763:—This morning gave to the washerwoman some cloaths. Still remaining in the Budgerow at the Gott, the Harracarrah brought six dandies down to the boats, but more my coolys than any thing else, about the evening there were 4 of them run away, which stop our going away. To-day had for dinner some mutton curry. Came on board three Armenians. Capt. Wilson asked them the favour to carry thirty rupees to Capt. Harris and the rest of them that was confined with him, but they denied. Nothing happen, no more, only Mr. Campbell's boy run away with 30 Rupees of his. Nothing more these 24 hours.

July the 11th, 1763:—This morning pretty fair weather, gave the washerwoman some more cloath to wash, rec'd no more dandyes, still remaining at the Gott. Had for dinner to-day some rice & curry. This day came down and landed. At this got our 24 pounder with the transport & cartridge, nothing happens more these 24 hours.

July 12th, 1763:—This morning the Jemidar of our guard sent some of his people and brought 14 dandies, set out about 12 o'clock for Patna. Went about 6 coss this day, and halted here all night. Nothing more these 24 hours.

(Here this narrative ends. It seems to have been written by Ensign M'Kay.)

*DR. ANDERSON'S NARRATIVE.

June 3rd being the anniversary of the Battle of Plassy, we all dined at the Factory, when it was easy to observe by the faces of the Gentlemen that somewhat of importance was on the Carpets, for our Council had been

* This narrative has already been published in "The Diaries of Three Surgeons of Patna 1763" and is reproduced to strengthen complement Ensign MacKay's account.

sitting and orders were issued out for the Guards to be relieved by the Aukward Men, and to the Capt'n to meet the Commanding Officer at his quarters at 8 in the evening. It seems the Gentlemen at the Factory had advice of Mr. Amyatt's Negotiation at Mongeer being broke off and a Day appointed for his Departure, also that a strong Detachment of Horses and Sepoys, to the number of 3,000 with 6 guns, were on their March to Patna, so that as War seemed inevitable they thought it best to strike the first stroke, by possessing themselves of the City of Patna. However they were willing to wait for certain advises from Mr. Amyatt, accordingly the 24th at night, in Consequence of that advice, orders were given to attack the City. Next morning about one, the Troops were under Arms, and marched off at two—about two Companys of Aukward Men with two officers left at the Gardens for a Guard. In the following Order Capt'n Tabby's Sepoys and the Europeans were to March to the right of the Chuta Montenal (alias Bastion) with their Scaling Ladders, etc., and enter there, Captains Turner and Wilson with four Companys each and two pieces of canon were to proceed to the west gate and enter there, while Lieut. Downie, with three Companys, Escaladed opposite the Factory. Capt'n Finch with the remainder of the Guns was stationed in Mr. Howitt's Compound, in order to fire upon the Walls, and be as a signal for general attack; three pieces 3 pounders, with two Companys of Seapoys, were to keep up a Constant fire from the Top of the Factory house.

Capt'n Carstairs with the Europeans and Tabby's Seapoys after entering passed along the N. W. front and opened the gates so that the other partys with the two guns passed in without any difficulty, we possessed ourselves soon of all the bastions but had great difficulty in going up the great street as there was a great fire from the North side—at which we lost men and officers, but at length proceeded to the Killa, into which the only force in the City had retired. The Subah with most of his Jemidars had left the City and we now began to think ourselves secure, but alas how greatly mistaken. Lieut. Downie and Perry with some Sepoys had gone quite thro' the Kella to the water side. Our Europeans were in possession of the East gate with one of our guns but all the rest of our Sepoys were dispersed in plundering so that scarce 100 could be got together. Everybody was quite fatigued having marched thro' thick mud and had no refreshments, when near ten o'clock, about 120 of the Enemy entered the Kella and drove some Seapoys who were there before them. The Europeans and other Seapoys seeing this followed their Examples, and so scarce looked back, till they got to the Factory. A party of Marcott's Seapoys who belonged to the Detachments to reinforce the City arrived with some guns soon after, and began to fire on the Factory house. Thus ended this unfortunate affair and without great loss and effusion of blood. The Enemy must have suffered much but can give no particulars. Our Loss is as follows:—

Killed	}	Captain Perry, Lieut. Downie, Lieut. McDonall, Lieut. Read,
		And about 6 Europeans.
Wounded	}	Captain Jacker, Captain Wilson, Lieut. Perry, 10
		Europeans, and 100 Seapoys.

Our whole Force Consisted of—
50 Europeans Rank & File.
40 Artillery.
2,200 Sepoys.

Killed and deserted, but mostly the latter and, I believe, loaded with Plunder, one thousand Seapoys with Officers in proportion; lost two field pieces which could not be brought off.

At six in the evening the Guard for the Gardens was called in and arrived soon after. After the Disaster the Council was called, in which the Captains were desired to attend. That they might consult what was best to be done in our present Circumstances, various were the opinions on this occasion.

1st.—The Factory being but small and badly provided with provision and firewood for above 1200 Seapoys and 200 Europeans, besides we must have expected to have been entirely shut up with the fresh Troops which would have come from Mongheer. Therefore to defend it was thought of no purpose. 2nd.—To take Boats and proceed by water to Calcutta, but in the first place boats could not be procured for such number, and must have expected opposition at Mongheer, where intelligence must arrive one day before us. 3rd.—To cross the River and march down on the opposite side. This must have been to sacrifice many, as we must have embarked in the face of a numerous enemy, and had doubtless Troops ready opposite Mongheer to meet us, besides it was impossible without Bullocks and Coolies to have either guns or much of ammunitions with us, therefore the final determination with us and indeed had the most chance of succeeding, was to procure by force as many boats as we could, send them up to Phytazy pass, to cross the river there, with one Howitz, march up the Sircar Serang country, and so cross over to Sujah Dowlah's country. This was approved of, but boats could not be procured that night; on the day following having got as many boats as we could, and sent them up to the pass, we prepared everything for evacuating the Factory, in the interim a very brisk and incessant fire, of both great guns and musketry, was kept up on both sides, in which we lost a European, 3 or 4 Seapoys. About 10 at night we got our sick Europeans and Treasure about one laak, embarked. Soon after Capt. Tabby's Seapoys were ordered to march out to the ground to the northward of the French Factory, and there wait for the Europeans, Mr. Ellis with a Company of Seapoys from that Body, attended by some Civilians, made the best of their way to the Boats. Capt. Carstairs, with the Europeans and Turner's Seapoys, kept up a brisk fire till near 12 o'clock, and everything being quite ready spiked up the guns, etc., and marched out, and so proceeded to the boats without the least molestation. About two we began to cross as quickly as possible and without confusion, and before one-third was over it began to blow and rain so that the boats could not cross. In the meantime those who had crossed were alarmed with a body of horse running to attack them. They beat to arms, got the Howitz ready and advanced 2 or 300 yards to be clear of the village and so waited for them, but they thought

proper to keep at a distance. About 10 the weather changed fair, and wind moderate, so that in the afternoon every body was crossed over even our Horses. We began to prepare for marching, accordingly the Sick, Treasure, and Howitz, with part of the ammunition, were to go by water for want of Coolies, etc., while the army marched by land, on account of the sick I went by water. In the afternoon about 5 o'clock the army marched, and we got under sail with a fair wind, being about 30 boats in all, here I was greatly disappointed for the Boat with my cloths, Instruments, Medicines, and servants did not arrive, so that I imagine this must have stopt. We sailed the best part of the night and then came to at daylight got way, and haulted at Cheran, soon after we were alarmed with 2 or 3 companys of Seapoys which we discovered on the opposite shore, and observing them drawing some boats together we sent immediate advice to Mr. Ellis, who sent a company of Seapoys to reinforce us for we had only 50. About 5 the Army joined us.

June 29th.—Early got under way but our Budgerow being heavy, we generally brought up the rear. Those Seapoys of the enemy having got three boats chased us until about 8 o'clock, but having a fresh wind, and by the help of our oars, we happily got clear. A Guard Boat and another in our rear fell in with them, the former cleared herself after a brisk fire, but the other was taken. The Seapoys having jumped overboard after having two killed and two wounded. We entered this afternoon the River Duah, brought to within a Coss of the Army, about three coss above Choprah.

30.—Got under way but made a bad hand of it, the stream being very strong in this river which obliged us to put to the other shore, when we discovered within a mile of us two stand of colours and some horse which obliged us to put into the stream, and getting foul of another boat broke our rudder. We were taken in tow by two Guard boats, who with great labour brought us to the ground, we left in the morning, here we patched up our rudder as well as we could, and was greatly assisted in it by Mr. Place, who came in the Pinnace for that purpose; we observed several villages on fire about a coss from us and heard of one Somero with four or five companys of Seapoys and three or four guns having crossed over hereabout in order to join Ramnidy, the fousdar of the country, who has got together about three thousand horse and foot in order to oppose us. We got to the fleet with great danger and difficulty, for we had near overset two or three times. When we joined them had the agreeable news of our having defeated Ramnidy that morning, and killed about 200 of his people. In the evening had an account of Somero's having joined him and their having encamped within a coss of our Troops. The place we now lay at is an Island opposite the upper end of which our people are encamped, but the stream is too strong for us to get round to them. Therefore having informed Mr. Ellis of it, we are ordered to proceed to the lower end, where in the morning they will march down to us. About 400 men horse and foot are on the opposite shore attending our motions, but they have only one boat.

July 1st.—We drop'd down and joined the army and immediately landed our Howitz, but before they could get it mounted, the enemy appeared and began a brisk cannonade with 3 or 4 pieces of canon, our people—beat to arms and drew up with the River which forms the island on their left and two pretty high banks with the great river about 200 yards behind them in their rear much as follows.

They seemed not inclined to attack us, therefore our people all set down in order to be more safe from the cannonade which was brisk about 8 o'clock. Mr. Ellis and all the civil gentlemen except Mr. Lushington came over to the island to the Boats. We began soon after to transport over the baggage, by which means great number of Seapoys stole over and concealed themselves in the jungle. The enemy seeing their fire did but little effect us, slacked it much; however, about 11, an unlucky shot hit Captain Carstairs as he was sitting down, it entered the inside of his thigh and passed out at his side, from the nature of it it must be mortal, all the day after we had only two or three Seapoys killed and as many wounded. Mr. Ellis had resolved if possible to attack the enemy in the evening, and so cross to the island and thence to Budgero side, where we had not above a coss to march out of the Province. In the evening it was thought by Captain Tabby who commanded, and most of the other officers that it was very impracticable to attack the enemy in their present disposition, more especially as they found they had lost one-third of their Seapoys, so that their present force would not exceed 700 Seapoys with the Europeans, which were about 180 including the artillery, while they were deliberating on the matter, they were alarmed by the enemy being in motion and advancing on them. We beat to arms. The party of the enemy on the right marched, and joined the main body, who advanced and kept firing from all their artillery, when they came within a proper distance Turner's battalion gave their fire regularly, but could not observe any regular fire from the right, only a universal popping. Some few European Platoon gave their fire, and then on a Grape coming amongst them, they went to the right about, which threw everything into the utmost confusion, and everybody sought their safety in flight, some swam to the island, and brought us the melancholy news. The boat people were frightened by the numbers that came pressing on them, and put off at a small distance from the shore. It was with difficulty that our Budgerow could get disengaged from the numbers that clung to her, at last by force we got at a small distance, having on board Captain Carstairs, Captain Wilson, Dr. Campbell and myself. Ensign Armstrong and M'Kay, who had swam to the island*, came off to us with two soldiers, and five or six gentlemen's servants, and three or four seapoys, and six women, and six children, in this confusion we observed many boats going off and knew not what to do for the best. To escape was impossible, therefore we resolved as we were already sufficiently full of people to proceed down to Patna if possible, and so surrender ourselves

*This identifies the writer of the previous account to have been Ensign M'Kay.

prisoners to the Subah, accordingly we put off, and in passing the Jungle, which was in the rear of our Army, was hailed and fired at, two or three times, but could not think of going to the shore, else, the crowd would certainly have sunk the boat, we rowed down as softly as possible, in order to avoid alarming the Chowkees, which are pritty many in this River. We were often hailed, but made no answer. We got our mast down in order to Disfigure the boat and procured *Jummahs* and *Turbands* for as many of us as We said threw many things overboard lest they should betray who We were, no Swords, Coats, Sashes, etc., and thus spent a most Melancholy night with poor Carstairs and all of us in the cabin, with women and children, and every moment expecting to be stopt by Chokees, who might have found an interest to have murdered us all for the sake of plunder, for we had about twenty thousand Rupies of the Company's on board. Near to Mongheer, as we imagined it to be, our boat ran aground, which perplexed us much, and a boat had kept us company for one hour, which we suspected much. In short, we were wavering whether to go ashore or not and take our fate by land, but could not think of leaving Carstairs, who tho' mortally wounded was perfectly sensible, it must have added to his uneasiness to have his friends leave him helpless in such distress, however while we were aground we lost sight of the boats that accompanied us, and having got off and in the proper channel we preceeded down till about dawn of day, when we were met by a Jemedar on an elephant, with about one hundred attendants, who were marching up. They hailed us, and desired us to stop. We told them we were a Dutch Budgerow from Chopra, we not stoping they fired on us, and I believe we would have come too had it not been for a boy of Captain Turner's who told us it was the best to proceed on till we were stopt by force, and then tell them we were going to the Nabob, which we thought very just; by brisk rowing we got clear of the people, without anybody being hurt, and were not troubled with any more, except a small boat with three Moores, who came on board, and told us they were a Chokee; we desired them to take us to Patna, but they seemed better pleased that we should given them Buxes so we gave them twenty Rupies, and they left us, when we drew near to the Sengia River we judged it would be better to go to Hodgepoor and surrender ourselves, as we might meet with milder treatment there than from the people at Patna, who were highly incensed. Besides the Fousdar being a brother of Meer Abdoula's might use us better on that account.

The 2nd.—About noon we arrived at Hodgepoor, and were kindly received by the Fousdar's son, his Father being at Patna.

The 3rd.—Poor Carstairs died on shore, at a small house that had been provided for him, we had a coffin made and had him buried as decently as circumstances would allow. The same day had a Chit from Dr. Fullerton, who desired us to come over to Patna, told us we would meet with genteel usage from the Subah.

Monday, the 4th.—Had our effects taken account of, and were to be sent over to Patna next day; our treatment here was very easy, having several provisions sent us from the Fousdar, but find our Guards and his Servants

very troublesome for Buxes, which we find best to satisfie. Heard from the Fhousdar that our Army had marched, that Mr. Amyatt had goen down, but Mr. Hay and another gentleman still continued at Mongheer.

Tuesday, the 5th.—Our Fhousdar and our Guard accompanied us over to Patna; we landed at the Killa and were brought to the Durbar, when were kindly received by Mindy Aly Cawn, and had victuals brought us in plenty, after giving us Beetle we were shown to our appartments, under the care of Mirza Caleil, near relation of his own, who, for the short time we remained with him, did his utmost to render things as agreeable as possible to us, even the most menial services he sent for us to his own room, and had some country spirit for us to drink of, gave orders to bring up all our things, and that there might not be the least thing touched, we thought ourselves extremely happy in such gentle usage, for the Nabob himself came in, sat down with us at Mirza Caleil's, and told us he expected Mr. Ellis with 30 gentlemen and 120 soldiers the next day, for they had set out from Chopra. At 9 we returned to our appartments, where Mr. Fullarton came an hour after, and acquainted us that orders had come for sending us to Mongheer, and we must go immediately. This surprised us much as it was very dark, and the stream rapid, but by speaking to our friend Mirza Caleil it was put off till the morning, accordingly we got all ready and had every thing sent to the Budgerow, where he went himself to see us safely delivered to the Jemedar, who had charge of us, he had sent some bread and roasted kid into the boat for our use, which we took very kind. Captain Wilson with great difficulty persuaded him to accept of his sword as a compliment.

Wednesday, the 6th.—In the morning we put off with two Guard boats and some Seapoys with us in the Budgerow. We had not got out of sight of the Killa when the boats were lashed along side the better to secure us and so we drove down like a log, but they soon found it inconvenient as well as us, and cast loose, one going ahead the other astern of us, and then we went on till we got to Bar, where we halted for the night; our Guard was so careful of us to-night as to keep all the Cabin windows fast by running a rope quite round them.

Thursday, 7th.—Early we got under way, and proceeded down to Nabobgunje, where we made a hearty meal of Cutcheree and Dram of Country Arrack our Friend at Hodgepoor had given us.

Friday, 8th.—Cast loose and proceeded to Mongheer, which makes no a bad appearance from the river, where you have a front view of the palace his Excellency has lately built there, with a Breast Work before it for thirty guns; it began to rain and blow about twelve by which means we drove past it, and were obliged to tract up above a mile, and at 5 arrived at the gate close to the lower part of the Fort. Our Harcarrah went on shore with the letter, but had nobody came to us but a rascal of a German who had been formerly in our service; he pretended to have come from the Nabob to know our number, names, and nation.*

*Probably Somers, called Somroo.

Saturday, the 9th.—As nobody has come to-day to enquire whether we want victuals, and even our Harcarrah not returned, it is matter of surprise to our Guards as well as to ourselves, we went to the Busar for what we want in the eating way, having money to the Amount of 800 Rupees.

Sunday, 10th.—A Servant of Mr. Place's brought us a Chit giving us an Account of Messrs. Johnston and Harris with two Europeans more belonging to the boats with arms, which the Nabob stopped, being close prisoners, having only half a Seer of coarse rice a day each for their subsistence, that they were in want of some cloaths which they beg us to send if we could spare, they mention also their having 10 Rs. given them 2 days before, to buy Meal, etc. They had surrendered themselves at Patna to Mr. Marcott, who finding them merchants gave them leave to go down if they could, but they found it impossible to pass the Chokee boats at Mongheer, which are placed on both sides of the river pretty close, besides every sand in the middle of the river has one or two: all of them have seapoys in them as the servant who brought the Chit had a Seapoy with him, and our Guard would scarce permit him to come in the boat. We found it impossible to send them cloths, we therefore put up 20 Rups., and wrote a Chit giving them an account of our situation, etc., but they kept so good a look out that we could not find an opportunity of sending it. Three Armenians came on board to us who gave us news of our Army being at Cutaway, we wanted them to deliver the money to Johnston, etc., but they declined it as they were strangers, and had only come to trade. To-night we had an account from our Harcarrah that we were to return to Patna, and he was providing Dandies for that purpose.

Monday, 11th.—The Harcarrah got the Purwanna for our going, but could not procure Dandies. The Jemedar of our Guard sent and pressed about a dozen in the evening, so would not set off till to-morrow. Within these few days a large boat or two has brought to this Gatt our two twenty-four pounders with carriages, and Transport Carriages with which they carried them off.

Tuesday, 12th.—We set out in our way to Patna with a fair wind but strong stream. That afternoon, about 4 coss from Mongheer, we passed Marcott encamped with a party of Seapoys who are going to Mongheer, heard that Captain Turner and two other officers came down with him and had gone on to Mongheer, we stopped a coss above them.*

Wednesday, 13th.—Got early under way, and at Nabobgunje met about five or six companys of Seapoys with two pieces of cannon & a few horse and 96 of our Europeans who had taken service, but gave us to understand it was to avoid bad usage, with a view of making their escape. They told us Mr. Ellis and all the other gentlemen had gone down to Mongheer, excepting Lieutenant Pickring and Ensign Croft who were either killed or drowned on the 1st. We crossed the river and sailed up within a sand island, when getting aground obliged us to stop for the night about a coss below Ruinulla on the opposite shore.

*This is where the previous narrative stops.

Thursday, 14th.—Not finding water for us within the Island, and the current being too strong without it, we crossed the river again by which we drove a coss back, and had great danger and difficulty in tracking up to Ruin-ulla, as the stream was very strong and the banks fell in very frequent. In passing the Nulla we observed three flag elephants with about 2,000 horses and foot crossing in boays on their way to Mongheer. In the afternoon, being within a large island, we had a fair wind and smooth water which run us within two coss of Deriapoor, where we brought too for the night.

Friday, 15th.—We proceeded up fairly as there was little wind, at 11 we stop at Deriapoor to Dress our victual. In the meantime, three companys of Seapoys, mostly our own, who had taken service arrived here on their way down. At 1 we put off with a pretty breeze, and at sunset reached Mohera, about two coss below Ponnerac.

Saturday, 16th.—Early we got under way with a fair wind, about 8 passed Ponnerac, and at 12 we stopt at Bar to dress victuals, here were a large body of horse and Seapoys encamped with most of our Guns, etc., in their charge, their Rout is for Mongheer. At 2 put off, went 2 coss further.

Sunday, 17th.—We set out early with a brisk wind, which continuing all day brought us to within a mile of Jaffer Cawn's Gardens at sunset.

Monday, 18th.—Got under way at 5 and arrived at the Killa about 9, where after waiting two hours we were ordered up to the Diwan, as the Nabob was not at home, who ordered dinner for us. Here we remained pestered with flies and heat till about 8 o'clock when we were sent for by the Nabob, who as before received us very kindly, ordered chairs for us to sit on, gave a Hooker to Capt. Wilson, and told us not to be uneasy for we might look on ourselves as at home, that he would provide a proper place for us in a few days, as that we were in was very hot, we should sleep in a Bungelo above stairs. We took our leave, and thought ourselves happy in falling into so good hands. The Bungelo was the Deruans sleeping place, it was cleared accordingly and we ordered from our hot apartment, where we regaled ourselves with the refreshing breeze till near 11, soon after our supper came which we paid little regard to, it being so late. Our Guard consisting of 20 Burgondosses and 5 Seapoys slept on the Terras, while we crept into the Bungelo, where we found but little rest as it was swarming with Buggs and Muskittas.

Tuesday, 19th.—At day light we were roused out and returned to our hott room. Our Jentoo Friend the Dewan I believe was not well pleased at our sleeping within for he ordered Matts and carpets to be taken off and washed, and took immediate possession himself, giving us his Dewan Canna to ourselves, except a small part divided by a purda for his cook room, and at noon they began to cook there which filled our apartments with smoke, which with the heat and flies we were sufficiently tormented. We made a complaint of it, and have a promise of it being removed to-day. Our boy brought in a few bottles of liquor, which was seized by Guard as they must have the Nabob's Purwannah for it to pass in. At night the Nabon's Consommah

came to inform us that he had his Master's order for whatever we choosed to have dressed, and we need only send to the Cook room for it. To-night we found it very disagreeable on account of heat, buggs, and a noisy Guard, who occupies the veranda of our apartment.

Wednesday, 20th.—Nothing extraordinary only a visit from Mirza Caleail who tells us he is going to Mongheer. To-night the Dewan ordered the Guard to sleep out; we might have the veranda to sleep in, which was a great piece of service to us, as we had a little air, and less noise.

Thursday, 21st.—Nothing remarkable.

Friday, 22nd.—Afternoon about 4 we were called on a sudden from our quarters, and leaving two soldiers we were led into the City, and on our way met two Europeans with a Guard who told us there were 15 of them come up from Mongheer, were led thro' several windings and byways to a place where all sorts of prisoners are confined, for after passing two compounds we came to a third, where we observed some prisoners in irons which gave us but an indifferent idea of the place, more especially as the appartments we were put in was quite close, damp, and hung with cob-webs, some matts wherein the fronts close to the door, which were secured and tyed down, so that what light and air we had was from the door. Here to all appearance, we had to expect but indifferent treatment. But we had not been here an hour before we began to be somewhat better reconciled to it, for all our things was sent to us very carefully. We found this a place for state prisoners, and several people of some consequence have been here, ever since Ramnarains misfortune; there are about 1,200 Pions as a guard to this Prison, who allow us to walk all the length of the Square, so that we find we are here more retired and have more liberty.

Saturday, 23rd.—We had a visit to-day from Ramnarains Cutwal, a man of good character and formerly of influence in the city. We had no victuals sent us so are obliged to furnish ourselves.

We heard to-day that on the 15th instant a body of our troops had an engagement at Cutway with the forces from Muxadawad and the latter entirely defeated, the two principal Jamadars being killed.

That Hugly we have taken and distroyed. Our Gentlemen at Cassim Buzar had sent off their effects and themselves got safe off. That the Nabob was preparing to go down.

Sunday, 24th.—To-day we were a good deal alarmed by some of our guard having a parcel of old iron which we imagined was intended for us, but it was only to move them to another place; all our servants were ordered to sleep out of our square except one.

Monday, 25th.—Our boys heard a rumour to-day in the Dutch Factory of Mr. Amyatt and his Brother-in-law being both killed in their passage down near Rahamull, having made resistance to a force ordered to stop him, but we can't give it credit. Finding the want of liquor our boys to-day smuggled a bottle which gave us a glass each after dinner and at bed time.

Tuesday, 26th.—To-day close and sultry, which make the flies very troublesome to us. Had a small recruit of two bottles of gin, which is two days allowance. The economy we have established is to drink twice a day. Dine at one, take a walk in the evening and sleep at ten, supper, we have none. The intervals are filled up with reading, gaming, and converse with our fellow prisoners.

Wednesday, 27th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Thursday, 28th.—Our Jemadar informs us the Nabob has ordered us to send for our provisions to his cook room as usual. To-day we heard that Mr. Ellis's Munshi had got safe to Bannarass, also that the King and Souja Dowlah came down to Kiabad.

Friday, 29th.—On sending to-day for our victuals the consumah said he had not his master's orders, by which means we were disappointed of our dinner.

Saturday, 30th.—We sent our servants to the Nabob to request that we might be allowed to send to the Dutch for a little liquor daily as custom had rendered it necessary for our health, also that we might have a daily allowance in money rather than his victuals, as it was not dressed in our way, both of which he granted, allowing us 4 rupees per day and liberty to bring in two bottles of liquor p. day.

Sunday, 31st.—Heard a rumour of our troops being defeated at Plassy.

Monday, August the 1st.—Heard with pleasure the news of yesterday reversed, for from authority we have gained a second victory near the troops at Muxadawad, and Mr. Marcot with a large body of Seapoys, etc., now lies 8 coss on this side the city, so that we may soon hear of an action of consequence as our whole force are pretty near them. The Nabob lies encamped at Mongheer, near Hot Wells, but no appearance of his moving yet.

Tuesday, 2nd.—Have the news of yesterday confirmed. Great commotion at Mongheer, and Camdercawn with all the other Fousdars and Jemedars called in.

Wednesday, 3rd.—Gregar Cawn, with the remainder of the force is gone down, and his Excellency, with a few for a Body Guard, only remain.

Thursday and Friday, 4th and 5th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Saturday, 6th.—Mr. Roach's boy arrived from Mongheer, brings news of Mr. Amyatt's head being brought there some time ago, that Mr. Chambers and some of Cassim Bazar factory are there also; hear that we were thrice repulsed in the attack of the city of Muxadawad, but the fourth attack carried everything, that the old Nabob is declared. Dr. Nicola Musketa brings news of Marcot's being defeated; Sumers killed, with many elephants and Jemidars, that Marcott had gone over to us with a thousand men, but I can give no credit to it.

Sunday, 7th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Monday, 8th.—Mindy-ally Cawn came into our square and went soon out. He told us not to rise or disturb ourselves, but we heard soon after

that he wanted a place to put 20 Europeans that had just arrived from Mongheer. Heard at night that we had preserved Molidus and some of the Royal Family, who were prisoners at Dacca, and had settled in that country.

Tuesday, 9th.—Had a Chit from one Mr. Bennet, Co's Factor at Brampoor, and also one from Mr. Thompson, agent for Mr. M'Guire. They were taken prisoners below and sent up with about 20 soldiers, are in great distress wanting every necessary, we sent them 20 Rupees for the present. The Nabob of this place is preparing to set out for Mongheer in a few days. Harcarrahs are in constant motion here transporting families and effect of the merchants out of the city, troops from the smallest Fousdars are ordered to join at Mongheer, and a bridge building at Ruinulla. The Seats, too, are made close prisoners, and great commotion amongst the great at Mongheer. It is said our troops are marching up, and by latest advice were 15 coss from the lowest capital.

Wednesday, 10th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Thursday, 11th.—Hear of an action below in which Marcott's army were entirely defecated, and several Jemadars gone over to Meer Jaffier, but this wants confirmation. Messrs. Bennet and Thompson were to-day brought to us by the Nabob himself. They gave us an account of Mr. Amyatt and Ensign Cooper being killed at Muxadawad, as follows:—"They had embarked all the party and sent the horses, etc., with the Seices by land, meeting with contrary winds it was ten days ere they reached Muxadawad, where they at once saw troops drawn up on each side the river, with some great guns, they hailed them and desired them to come too, but not taking any notice of them some of them fired, on which some of our Seapoys began to fire also, and killed somebody on the shore, on which great guns and volleys were fired, which obliged them to put to the opposite shore, where there was the least firing. Mr. Amyatt, notwithstanding the fire, landed with a pair of pistols, he took the Nabob's Perwannah in one hand and held it up to them, and a pistol in the other, and advanced to the top of the bank where he was shot in the leg, and soon after cut to pieces. Ensign Cooper met the same fate in making resistance, but the other gentlemen they can give no account of, but expect they were sent to Mongheer with Mr. Chambers and the others from Cassim Buzar, they also inform us Mr. Hay and Mr. Gulston have suffered greatly, being put in irons and brought up in one boat, and scarce victuals or necessarys to cover them, being in all 27 persons. The Nabob here allows 10 Rs. p. day to the 17 people left, and an addition of 2 Rs. p. day to us on account of these two gentlemen.

Friday, 12th.—Last night late we had a confirmation of the action below, but no particulars; heard that the Nabob's wives, etc., are gone from Mongheer in order to be in safety. Numbers here are sending their families over the river. Mindy Aly Cawn set out to-day with the 200 Moguls and some Seapoys to Mongheer. To-day two Padrees who had a few days ago gone from hence to Mongheer returned on account of the confusion on the roads. They report that the Nabob and all his troops are gone too

from hence, and it is believed he goes to make his last effort. They heard all the prisoners were embarked in the Boats, but this is only hearsay.

Saturday 13th.—By certain intelligence we have gained a complete victory over Marcott, taken 9 pieces of cannon, 3 Jemadars, 1,300 horse and 1,800 Seapoys and Europeans went over to us; 5 days ago Gregon Cawn got the Nabob to march down with the remainder of his force, but with great reluctance. All the prisoners are well at Mongheer; his Treasure there yet.

Sunday, 14th.—Hear that the Nabob marched five days ago with about 6,000 Men. Camdar Cawn has marched to join him with 1,000 horse, and 2,000 horse from Battea on their way for the same purpose.

Monday 15th.—Heard melancholy accounts of Ram Narian and Rajah Bullab being cut off, but as yet not confirmed, tho' both families here in great distress on that account.

Tuesday, 16th.—Still the above account prevails strong in this City, with this addition of the number being eleven in all, amongst whom are Ellis, Lushington, and 3 Harcarrahs, so it is imagined they have been concerned in an illegal correspondence.

Wednesday, 17th.—Mr. M'Kay's servants to-day arrived from Mongheer in 4 days, who says he left all our gentlemen well there, that Ramnarain, Rajah Bullab, and the Seats were said to be cut off there. Hear our troops are between the passes. His Excellency at Bogolpoore, and the bulk of his Army at the second pass. The Begum is said to be delivered of a child at Ruinullah, which retards her journey, she has many boats and elephants with 13,000 horse under command of Nobit Roy; it is said all his money from Mongheer is there.

Thursday, 18th.—About 500 Seapoys of ours who had taken service at Mongheer are discharged the service, and ordered out of the province lest they serve him as they did below.

Friday, 19th.—By a Servant arrived from Mongheer, Mr. Ellis, etc., are well, and Ramnarain and Rajah Bullab and his son were put in a boat and it's believed were drowned. It is reported that the Nabob has made proposals of peace, and offered three Crows of Rupees to make good all damages, but this wants confirmation.* His Excellency for certain has marched from Baglepoore.

Saturday, 20th.—Heard by a Messenger from His Excellency's Camp, that 500 Europeans and 3 Battalions of Seapoys, our own Horse, and 5,000 Black...had marched from Muxadawad towards Berboom to pass in the hills while Meer Jaffier with his army, and 3 or 400 Europeans lately from Calcutta, with 1,600 Seapoys remain behind, both army have artillery in proportion. It is said the Nabob had made a present of 6 month's pay to all his troops, is in possession of the passes and ready for a run, not caring to leave Baglepoore.

*A Corore of Rupees are a hundred Lack, or one Million Sterling.

Sunday, 21st.—To-day Nabit Roy arrived to see his family. The Begum being at Jaffier Cawn's Gardens; its said they proceed up the country to a place on the hills almost impregnable, near Muccracond.

Monday, 22nd.—Nothing extraordinary; only some Armenians confined here.

Tuesday, 23rd.—Nothing extraordinary.

Wednesday, 24th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Thursday, 25th.—By advice from Mongheer hear his Excellency and the Armenian general are in great panick. Letters arrive here to the Begum twice a day, often in order to quicken her marches.

Friday, 26th.—The Begum set out on her march towards Rotasgur. She has 1,500 ruttis, 3 camels, 100 elephants, a number of boats, besides elephants, coaches, 1,200 horse, and 2,000 burgondosses are for her escort, having all his treasure with her, and it's currently said, from some authority His Excellency will follow in 15 or 20 days.

Saturday, 27th.—Nothing extraordinary. Hear Jemedar from Buxier, with 4,000 horse and foot, passed this place in his way down.

Sunday, 28th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Monday, 29th.—Hear many Armenians and Portuguese are arrived here on account of the commotions below.

Tuesday, 30th.—It is said our troops are yet at Souty Nulla; that his Excellency has sent many Detachments down; that Gregan Cawn has no command, and a Jemadar, which lately made his escape from Soujah Dowlah's country where he was a prisoner, is appointed to the command in his stead; that his Excellency is still at Bauglepoor. These 3 days past we can't get our allowance on account of the confusion here.

Wednesday, 31st.—Yesterday had an account from the Padre that some troops had arrived and joined the army, that they had divided. Meer Jaffier with part of his troops lay at the pass near Suttty, that Fascine Battery, on the side of a lake, was raised by our troops under command of Major Carnac, while Major Adams of the 84th Regt. with Roydoulep was gone the Beerboom road. A party had secured the Purnea country and stopt provisions from crossing. It's confirmed that all the best Jemedars are gone down, that Gregan Cawn is degraded because he proposed a accommodation between his Excellency and his Father. The Begum still pursues her journey. We have a report that Dr. Fullarton has sent word to some of his black friends here that he will see them in a few days.

September 1st.—To-day hear an account of our gaining a omplete victory at Suttty Nullah, but not confirmed. This evening all the Armenian women set out to the westward.

Friday, 2nd.—Nothing extraordinary.

Saturday, 3rd.—Heard to-day by a messsenger from our camp at Suttty to a black Merchant that the Armys remained there in their old position,

that Major Adams had for certain gone the Beerbom road with a view to pass the hills, that yesterday on account of it orders had been sent here for them to keep a look out, upon which many prepared for going off. The Seats house herewith his Gamastahs were seized and three lack of Rupees. Nabit Roy with the Begum is arrived at Daudnagore, he has sent word to Ramnarain's family that he is not put to death but in a secure place in Mongheer and in irons with Rajbullab.

Sunday, 4th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Monday, 5th.—A report our having possess Malda.

Tuesday, 6th.—Heard to-day some ships being arrived at Calcutta with Seapoys and Europeans. Boo Ali Cawn in returned to Boglepoor and Mindie Aly Cawn got the command of the army below. Comdar Cawn is stopt in the hills and cant pass. Things are said to be in the greatest confusion at His Excellency's court, this by letter.

Wednesday, 7th.—By a Messenger from Muxadabad in nine days have the account of an action confirmed as follows. The enemy made an attack on our Fascine Battery at night, our people quitted it and having let about 4,000 men land, for they crossed the Nullah in boats, they immediately surrounded them and cut them off.

Thursday, 8th.—Nothing extraordinary.

Friday, 9th.—It is said the Nabob has retreated 4 coss, there is some rumour of some troops coming up the other side of the river.

Saturday, 10th.—We have from Nicolo some confused account of our storming the enemy's trenches in the nights, entirely driving them thence and taking all their camp and artillery. Somero and Marcott are missing, and the broken troops obliged to retreat. It is reported six Jemedars who went with Camdor Cawn are gone off. Things are in the greatest confusion at His Excellency's court.

Sunday, 11th.—We learned by a packet from Chinsurah that Messrs. Amyatt and Hay are ordered for Europe. Mr. Sumner who is coming out 2nd in council and Mr. M'Guire Buxie so that Mr. Vansittart's interest seems to prevail which may produce strange effects here. A messenger arrived from our camp which brings an account of the action which he says he had from the Nabob's Harcarrahs that Mindie Aly Cawn and another Jemedar were killed and all their guns and Camp equipage were taken, that a twenty-gun ship and three sloops were coming up, and had passed Nudea Santepoor.

Monday, 12th.—Hear six lack of Rupees have arrived here from the Begum to pay the troops here.

Tuesday, 13th.—Have a rumour of the troops being in possession of the first pass, and that Mindie Ali Cawn is certainly killed. That Mr. Vansittart is suspended by the Council. A boy from Mongheer brings an account of Mr. Jones having arrived there in a Dooly. Yesterday a Jemedar arrived at this place on some important business.

Wednesday, 14th.—It is said the Jemedars had been ordered here to put the place in a posture of defence, this place is quite full of the defeat of His Excellency's troops and the consequences of it. People are going off daily. He has retreated himself to Mongheer, and it is affirmed we have a strong party coming thro' the hills and that the passes are abandoned.

Thursday, 15th.—Heard that the Armenian General is a close prisoner and a Guard put over his effects hear, also that the Jemedar commanding at Mongheer had refused admittance to his Excellency, and that our troops would be at this place as soon as his.

Friday, 16th.—We have not had these nine days any allowance from the Nabob on account of the confusion here, the consequence of the late defeats of his Excellency's troops. Heard by a peon of Sir William Hope that Captain Turner died the night before he left Mongheer. To-day we divided what cash remained in our possession which comes to 3 Rupees each, and have sent the greatest part of effects of others which were with us to the Dutch Factory, this precaution we have taken lest we be to march up the country with his Excellency.

Saturday, 17th.—Received advices of our army for certain being at Shawbad, three coss above the upper pass, that His Excellency is destroying Mongheer, and they are here destroying our Factory house and fortifying this place.

Sunday, 18th.—His Excellency's people are going off in troops, Mersa Caliel and Mindie Ali Cawn are both arrived having fled from the late action. Our gentlemen are on the way from Mongheer to this place, and it is thought His Excellency intend pushing thro' the hill to Bengal in order to draw our troops down, prolong time, and gain some assistance which he may be in expectation of from above. To-day sent my superfluous clothes to the Dutch factory. We also received nine days allowance out of the 11 due us. Our peons here seem in great agitation, and in short the whole city seem ready to take wing. Hear His Excellency is 3 coss this side Mongheer and our troops 16 coss from them.

Monday, 19th.—To-day all our gentlemen except Mr. Fullarton arrived from Mongheer, it is said Lady Hope* and some other women are left behind, most of the gentlemen are in irons. Captain Turner died of a fever at Mongheer, our servant Dr. Nicola in attempting to get into the gentlemen was made a prisoner on account of his being dressed with a Cross, sword and target. No account of either our army or His Excellency's.

Tuesday, 20th and 21st.—Nothing extraordinary. Our servant Nicola is released by making application to the Darbar—Hear the Dutch chief has sent wine, etc., to Mr. Ellis.

Thursday, 22nd.—Nothing extraordinary.

Friday, 23rd.—As his Excellency still continues at Mongheer, it gives us reason to think our troops are not yet in possession of the upper pass.

*Wife of Sir William Hope of Balcomie.

Saturday, 24th.—Hear for certain that our troops are at Shawbad, that the enemy are repairing what of Mongheer they had destroyed. That everything was in the greatest confusion in His Excellency's camp. That Somers had the management of everything. His Excellency had not eat for three days nor allowed his Nagar to beat, that he being absent and Somero not at Mongheer, and his army advanced to Gulgat Nullah so that we may hourly expect some news.

Monday, 26th.—This evening heard that 10 Europeans at Bar had been tied and thrown in the river, so that from this we may guess what we are to expect. Have also an account that purwannahs have arrived here to several Jemedars, and that it is thought many are sent to the Jemedars of his Excellency's camp. Some think he will be laid hold of by his own people.

Tuesday, 27th.—This morning hear that Lady Hope has arrived at the Dutch Factory. A rumour prevails of his Excellency having been completely defeated a few days ago and lost every gun, etc. That he is on his way to Patna. The very peons here are in great agitation on that account.

Wednesday, 28th.—Heard from good authority that his Excellency is retreating and was two days ago at Suriagurr. Somero and the Armenians with a party at Mongheer and our army at Baglepoor. Also a party had crossed the river and were coming up the other side. Booalli Cawn with the Seats and several other prisoners were at Bar, many prisoners have been released. Among the rest Shake Hahomed was released from this place and put under the care of a friend of his in his Excellency's army, and goes out here to-morrow morning.

Thursday and Friday, 29th and 30th.—Hear that his Excellency is 2 coss this side Ruinulla, and Sumro with the Armenians at the Nullah that his people is going off daily, and he is in great fear of his life. That about three weeks ago he proposed cutting us all off, but was prevented by Sumro, the Armenians, and some of his Jemedars. That Mollidore with a good force will be at Hodgepoor in three days; that his Excellency intends striking off for the hills at Ramnasera, within a coss of this place. It is believed that his orders will not be obeyed here, as most of the city seem willing to protect us, Gragen Cawn had 15 horses which arrived here yesterday, but the gates were shut and they were not permitted to enter. As things now go on towards a [crisis our situation must create in as] much anxiety, it is said he will be at Ramnasera the day after to-morrow, so that our fates must be determined in two or three days at furthest.

Saturday, 1st October.—Mahmet Emy Cawn, with the Seats and some other prisoners, still remain without the east gate. 12 Europeans which came with them arrived in the City to-day.

Sunday, 2nd.—Heard that his Excellency would be at Bar to-day, and our troops at Ruinullah; that Gragen Cawn is killed or badly wounded by his Moguls in a dispute about pay. 10 Europeans arrived here to-day.

Monday, 3rd.—Hear the Seaths and Mahmet Emy Cawn are safe lodged in the City, and that this Jemedar sent his Chubdar to Mr. Ellis yesterday

telling him not to be uneasy, and if he wanted money he would let him have it. Many of our guards have left us. Rice has rose within these few days to six seers for a Rupee. Heard this night that his Excellency is at Besconpoor, and will pass this place to-morrow; are told not be uneasy for we should be safe.

Tuesday, 4th.—To-day his Excellency arrived at Ramnarain's Gardens, and to-morrow comes into the City. They have been very busy to-day mounting guns on the bastions of this place. Heard that Meer Jaffir's brother had made his escape.

Wednesday, 5th.—Hear the Seats were cut off near Bar.

Thursday, 6th.—Heard this morning that Mr. Ellis and 47 gentlemen were cut off last night, so that doubtles our fate must be in 24 hours, for which God prepare us all.

" Patna,
" 6th October, 1763.

" Dear Davidson,—

" Since my last his Excellency has been completely defeated, and in consequence obliged to retreat. He came to Jaffier's Cawn's Gardens yesterday, and purposes coming into the city to-day. Somero with the Seapoys arrived here last night and I suppose to effect his wicked designs, for last night Mr. Ellis and 48 gentlemen were murdered, and as about an equal number remains of soldiers and us, I expect my fate this night. Dear Davidson, this is no surprise to me for I have all long expected it. I must therefore, as a dying man, request of you to collect and remit home my fortune as soon as possible, and write home a comforting letter to my Father and Mother, let them know I die bravely as a Christian ought, for I fear not he who can kill the body and nothing more, but rejoice in hopes of a future existence thro' the merits of my Saviour. O, Davidson, be not over anxious for a fortune, let mediocrity satisfy you, and go home and comfort your friends and mine; endeavour to recover Mr. Ellis's money if possible, but I believe the 14,000 Rupies with Hancock is safe, which will be a help for my poor friends. You have full instructions in my other papers; you may give Nicola if he comes to you 200 Rs., and if you can, provide for him, for he is a good boy.

" Now, dear friend, I take my leave of you hoping that; that friendship will still subsist, for why may there not be same friendship in a future state, friendship founded on virtue must subsist for ever. Fare you well, and may God give you satisfaction in life and joy in death.

" Yours,
"(Signed) William Anderson."

On the 9th or 11th, Dr. Anderson & Dr. Campbell and Capt. Wilson and Lieuts. Armstrong and Mackey were killed by Somroo's Sepoys, also 200 soldiers. In the beginning of these notices regarding the family of Hope, we came to Sir William Hope, grandson of the first Sir William Hope

of Balcomy. He began life in the Navy, and then entered the Army, 31st Foot, and then Captain in the East India Company's Service. In 1763 he was with the Army at Patna and was with Mr. Ellis, and one of the 48 gentlemen whom Dr. Anderson records were "cut off last night."

On hearing that the English had taken Monghir, the Nabob told Somers to make an end of the English prisoners, and this was how he did it. He invited them to sup with him, and he asked them to lend him their knives and forks in order he might entertain them in the English fashion. As they arrived "to sup," Somers stood at some distance in the cook-room to give his orders. As soon as Mr. Ellis and Mr. Lushington entered, the former was seized by the hair, and one forcing back his head, another cut his throat, on which Mr. Lushington knocked him down with his fist, seized his sword and killed one and wounded two more, before he was cut down himself. The others thus suddenly attacked and wholly unarmed, made long and brave defence—with only bottles and plates they killed many of their assailants, but in the end they were all slaughtered. One of the number, Captain Jacker had gone into a side place on arrival, and thus escaped for two days, but was then seized and killed. During the resistance, Somers bid the Sepoys go on the roof and fire on them from there, the Sepoys objected, begging the English might be given arms to defend themselves, and then they would fight and slay them, but for answer, those demurring to butcher were by his orders themselves knocked down with bamboos.

Thus fell the last man of the Hopes of Balcomie, his back to the wall, fighting at fearful odds, no weapon but a broken bottle or a piece of a china plate, against cutlasses and swords, brave to the end. "One more gone for England's Glory."

His wife (Lady Hope), who was a Dutch lady, had taken refuge with Dr. Fullarton and one soldier in the Dutch Factory. She afterwards married Mr. Lambert, and she died in 1766, when Balcomie was sold.

COPY OF NARRATIVE RECEIVED BY THE COUNCIL FROM DR. FULLARTON.

From the 17th of the month of June, preparations of War were carried on with great vigor on both sides. Mindi Aly Cawn, who governed the city, was employed in repairing the ramparts, cleaning the ditch and posting troops on the walls, and doubling all the guards to the westward of the city. The Factory Walls were likewise repaired, the Ditch was Cleaned and two 24 pounders were mounted, the Terras top of the Factory house was all round Fortified with Sand bags, and two three pounders were mounted there.

About ten o'clock at night of the 24th June, Mr. Ellis sent for me from the Hospital, and ordered that the sick might be embarked in boats, and carried over to the Sand Opposite to the City, and from thence tracked up and crossed over to the Factory. My orders were to embark exactly at

two o'clock in the morning (that being the hour appointed for the attack of the City), which was accordingly executed, and with the sick which consisted of 23 Europeans, got safe to the Factory, about Nine O'clock in the morning; at half an hour before one, the troops under the command of Capt. Carstairs marched from the Cantonments in two divisions, and Capt. Carstairs having sent 50 Seapoys (25 to each of the grand Roads); at 11 the night of the 24th June, to take every body that might pass that way, till the arrival of the troops, they took fifty prisoners, great many of whom were Harcarras, by which means they had not the least intelligence in the City. The first Division commanded by Capt. Carstairs consisting of 150 Europeans, Capt. Tabby's battalion of Seapoys and five Company of Capt. Wilson's. The Second Division consisted of 50 Europeans, Capt. Turner's battalion of Seapoys and two guns. The first Division with the Scaling Ladders came down the great Western Road, the Second came through the Town right to the west Gate, and there remained under Cover, the first division planted their Ladders near the South West Bastion of the City, they mounted and got in with little opposition and little Loss, they marched down along the walls to the west gate which they opened (our guns & small arms keeping a constant fire from the Factory upon the City till the Second Division and Guns came in); Lieut. Downie who commanded in the Factory with 3 Companys of Seapoys, a little after our troops had got the possession of the west gate, stormed the Berbunna Gate. Got in with little loss, and marched to the Killa, partly by the River side, partly by lanes near the river, Capt. Tabby with his Battalion went round the walls and drove the Enemy from them, posting his own Guards, as he went and came to the East Gate; by the time both our Division had got into the City, Mirza Mindi Aly Cawn, the Governor, had intelligence of it and had collected a Body of Horse and Gunmen—and marching down the main Street he met Capt. Carstairs with Capt. Turner's Seapoys, Europeans, and Guns, he lined the Street and filled the Lanes and the Tops of the Houses of both sides, and a warm scuffle ensued with loss on both sides, Capt. Perry and Lieut. M'Dowell were both killed, Captain Jacker and Wilson were wounded and 30 Europeans killed and wounded with a number of Seapoys, but our Grape and Musketry was so warm that they retired, and Mindi Aly Cawn with the rest of the commanders went out at the East Gate of the City, and took the road towards Futna; our troops marched to the East Gate after them and there met Capt. Tabby who had just arrived having come round the Walls, the East Gate was immediately shutt, the Bridge leading into it broke down, the Seapoys sent along the Killa Walls down to the River side, and took possession of the only Gate remaining in the hands of the enemy called the Water Gate. After this several messages passed between Capt. Carstairs and Mr. Ellis and everything seemed to be over. About 9 o'clock Capt. Carstairs came to the Factory with several of the Officers, at 10 we heard firing in the Killa, and the Gentlemen went to the Fort, the firing continued and increased. One, Lollsa, a Foot Jemmautdaar*, who had his women in

*Jemmautdaar, an officer of the same rank with the Roman Centurion.

a house in the Killa, did not chuse to leave them, so retired into his house with 30 men, and there remain quiet till some of our Seapoys began to plunder his house, he then in defence of his women drove them out; there were likewise about 200 men who had secreted themselves in a large house near the Killa called Chelsetown; Lollsa after having driven the Seapoys from his House, fired on the Centries that were posted on the walls of the Killa bear his house and sent a Message to Mindi Aly Cawn, who with the rest of the principal commanders had got the length of Fatna Bridge, that if he could return he would be able with his assistance to drive the English out of the City. Mindi Aly Cawn met an Futna with Alum Cawn 100 horse and 20 camels loaded with fire arrows sent from Mongheer for his garrison just at the time of his receiving Lollsa's message; he immediately returned, and by the way picked up about one thousand horse and foot that were flying from the City at the same time that Lollsa sent to Mindi Aly Cawn, he sent likewise to the Chelsetoon and told those men that were there that he had still defended part of the Killa, and desired their assistance. About 50 of them came to him by a small passage from the Chelsetoon to the Killa, and there they defended themselves till bear 12 o'clock, when Mindi Aly Cawn arrived. About this time our Seapoys were employed in plundering the town, & little order or obedience to their Officers was observed, nor could a sufficient body of them be got together to make a stand, so that Mindi Aly Cawn met with little resistance in driving all our troops out of the City. As our people went along they met with enemy everywhere; the Seapoys who had concealed themselves in the different houses upon hearing of the Naib's return sallied out everywhere and fired on them, so that about 3 o'clock they arrived at the Factory in the utmost confusion, having lost in the retreat Lieut. Reid of the Artillery, Lieut. Downie of the Seapoys killed, and Lieut. Parry wounded. Several attempts were made by the officers to rally both the Seapoys and Europeans, but to no purpose; it was generally imagined that great part of the Seapoys were gone off with what plunder they had got, and that night at a muster there were only about 170 Europeans and 1,200 Seapoys to be found, the confusion of such a number of troops with the sick and wounded in so small a place as the Factory must be easily imagined, and that evening about sunset the City was strongly reinforced by Marcott with 1,500 Seapoys and 2 guns and some horse, who that night began to ply us with musketry from the walls, and cannonading the Factory from the West Gate. Messrs. Greentree and Pickering were called from the Cantonments, where they had been left with two hundred new Seapoys.

The 26th.—In the morning the fire from the City increased, and the confusion with us was greater; early in the morning Mr. Ellis sent for me and ordered me to go over to the Sand opposite to the Factory with 50 Seapoys, and collect all the boats I could get. The fire was very warm, both from the Factory and the City all that day. About 12 o'clock I was ordered by Mr. Ellis to proceed with what boats I had collected to Palyeah Gott, about 3 coss upon the river and there to remain for further orders. At three

in the afternoon I was ordered to get the boats ready for transporting the troops over into the Sarcarsaring Country as soon as possible. At 10 o'clock at night they arrived in number about 170 Europeans and 1,200 Seapoys set fire to the Gunje, and all the large betelnut Bungloes near the Factory, to hinder the enemy's approach, and an officer with 30 Europeans remained in the Factory half an hour after the main body marched off, to bring up the rear with the baggage, but the fire from the City was so warm that the Cooleys and Lascars threw most part of the ammunition down and deserted, so that only seven barrels of Musquet ammunition were saved, and the Seapoys and Europeans had only 12 rounds a man. About daylight in the morning the troops got all to the other side of the river, and were obliged to halt there, for Mr. Lushington, who had embarked from the Factory with the Company's Treasure in small Pulwars, he arrived at 10 o'clock with only the loss of one boat, which was sunk by the enemy's shott at the Factory Gott.

The 27th.—A little before sunset we marched from Paluja to Ryputtee, being four coss, where the army got no provisions, but a little rice, the country people being afraid to supply us on account of the Fousdar Nideram's being in arms to oppose us. Mr. Ellis ordered me to take charge of the Treasure, with all the boats, and allotted for their Guard one company of Seapoys. The boats had a fine wind and sailed all night.

The 28th.—The boats were fired at from the Budgepoore side of the Country by Sumroo, who was there preparing to cross the river to attack us; no news of the troops till 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when they arrived at Chiran when the boats lay for them, they had rested the night of the 27th at Ryputtee, being 4 coss from Paluja, and from Ryputtee to Chiram was 5 coss.

The 29th.—The Army proceeded to Agaib Gunje, they were discontented for want of provisions the day before, this being a village of the Company's they got some rice; the boats were this morning, before the troops marched, reinforced by Lieut. Armstrong with another Company of Seapoys. We had news that Nideram was coming to fight with us with 3,000 horse and 3,000 foot.

The 30th.—We marched from Agaib Gunje to Maripore, 5 coss. The boats came up within a coss of the Camp, into the Dewa River, but it was with great difficulty, we being obliged to track. Nideram came, and was defeated with no loss on our side, but about 200 of his men killed. This day a boat that fell in the rear was taken, a Havildar and 8 Seapoys were in it, three of them were killed, the rest joined but without their arms. Nideram went towards Chuprah a few coss, where he, met Sumro with 3 battalion of Seapoys and eight pieces of cannon and a large body of horse, sent from Patna after us. Sumro made Nideram return, but we had no intelligence of them. Our Haccarrahs had all deserted, and none of the country people would come near us.

July 1st.—The army came to the banks of the Dewa, a coss from where they lay at Maripoor, the Dewa formed 3 streams at this place, our boats got into the middle one and could not pass thro' for want of water; they were half a mile from the army, and were ordered down to the place where the three streams met. The army likewise moved this morning, and in marching off the party of 100 Seapoys lost their way, and had a warm scuffle with part of Shimroo's Guards, only the Subadar and 35 Seapoys, with the colours, got to us. About 8 o'clock, we surrounded by Shimroo with 3 battalions of Seapoys, 8 pieces of cannon, and body of about 10,000 horse and foot, Nideram included. Two of Shimroo's battalions had Europe arms and one Country Matchlocks; and on their approach orders were sent for the 200 Seapoys that had been left to guard the boats to join us; we got the Howitz landed and prepared to receive them. They came within 800 yards and began to cannonade us; there was a Nullah about 50 yards in our front, but little water in it, & a small bank in the front of our line, behind which we were drawn up. The enemy did not seem much inclineable to attack us, but kept a brisk fire from their artillery and Gengalls. About 10 o'clock it was determined that we should attack them, and Mr. Ellis being much fatigued, and somewhat out of order, came down to the boats and ordered some liquor to be sent up to the men. A little after this Capt. Carstairs was mortally wounded with a Gengall ball, and the command devolved on Capt. Tabby. Our people were not allowed to fire on account of the great scarcity of ammunition, and the enemy began to come nearer and nearer, but very slowly. At 3 in the afternoon a company of their Seapoys came down to the banks of the Nullah and lay behind them, and kept a warm fire of musketry on us. They all after this moved down by degrees, and used to stop the cannon and fire, and then move again. Our Troops were much fatigued for want of Provisions, etc., and being exposed to a warm fire all day. About half an hour after sunset the firing increased, and they began to ply us with musketry; crossed the Nulla, and attacking us on all sides. About eight at night the Europeans broke and fled, the Seapoys stood their ground keeping a warm fire upon the enemy till all their ammunition was expended, when they likewise gave way. Lieut. Pickering and Crofts, both of the Seapoys, were killed; and the rest of the gentlemen that were in the field were taken either that night or next morning. The boats, where Mr. Ellis was, finding the fire cease, and some of the officers that could swim crossed the branch of the River (for the boats lay on an island) opposite to where the action was, pushed off and got into the river. Messrs. Ellis and Howitt and Smith, with Capt. Jucker, thought proper to write to Nideram to send some of his people to conduct them to Patna, to Mindi Aly Cawn, and it was likewise determined that Mr. Ellis should write to Mindi Aly Cawn, desiring that he should send orders for conducting him and the gentlemen safe there. About 10 at night I was sent with a letter to Mindy Aly Cawn. About 12 next morning, the 2nd July, I sent immediately to the Naib to let him know that I was come; he sent for me, and used me very well, sending an order to Nideram to conduct the Gentlemen safe to him, but before that could

arrive they were all taken by Shimroo that morning. About 10 I was kept a close prisoner in the Killa, and at night the Naib came and desired me to write a Chitt to some Gentlemen that were come in a Budgerow to Hagipoore, to come to him, as they might be ill used by the country people, which I did. They came two days after, and were sent immediately to Mongheer, but were sent back again and kept in the Chelsetoon. They had buried Captain Carstairs, who died of his wound, in his Budgerow. These gentlemen were Capt. Wilson, Lieut. Armstrong, Ensign Makay, Mr. Anderson, Surgeon, and Mr. Peter Campbell and two soldiers.

July 6th.—Mr. Ellis with the rest of the gentlemen were brought to Patna. I petitioned the Naib to be sent to them, or be suffered to see them, both which were refused.

8th.—Mr. Ellis with the rest of the gentlemen were sent to Mongheer, and there confined; there was 45,000 Rs. of the Company's cash on board the Budgerow, where Mr. Ellis was taken, and some plate which was given to him, but in the care of some of the Nabob's people, to be given him when he wanted it. Some time it remained with Coja Petruss, afterwards with Mindialy Cawn.

The 16th I was sent down to Mongheer and there confined, separately from the rest of the gentlemen, who, as I afterwards understood, were all well used, tho' strictly confined. We had victuals sent us by the Nabob regularly twice a day.

August 10th.—The Nabob left Mongheer and the Fort was left in charge of Mamodom Cawn; he treated us with the greatest lenity to appearances, and pretended to carry on a treaty with Mr. Ellis, but it was all a sham, for he never was in earnest; I was allowed to see the gentlemen on account of Capt. Turner's being ill, who afterwards died of a flux.

The 10th Sept.—Mr. Ellis and the rest of the gentlemen were sent from Mongheer. Messrs. Ellis & Greentree were on Pallankeens, Lushington, Smith, Lieut. Brown, Ensign M'Leod and one other gentleman who I don't remember were on Horseback, the rest were in Irons, some in Dolleys, and some in Harcarrys, and after their arrival at Patna were confined in Hajee Ahmend's house.

Sept. 19th.—I was sent from Mongheer to Patna, and confined alone in the Killa.

Octr. the 5th.—Mr. Ellis with the rest of the gentlemen were inhumanly butchered by Shimroo, who came that evening to the place with 2 companys of Seapoys (he had the day before sent for all the knives and forks from the gentlemen), he surrounded the house with his people and went into a little outer square, and sent for Messrs. Ellis, Hay, and Lushington, and with them came six other gentlemen, who were all terribly mangled, and cut to pieces, and their bodys thrown into a well in the square and it filled up, then the Seapoys were sent into a large square and fired on the gentlemen there, and rushing upon them cut them into pieces in the most inhuman manner and they were thrown into another large well which was likewise filled up.

The 7th.—The Nabob sent for me and told me to get myself in readiness to go to Calcutta, for that as he had been unlucky in the War, which he asserted with great warmth had not been of his seeking, nor had he been the Aggressor, reproaching the English with want of fidelity and breach of Treaty, but he said he had still hopes of an accommodation. He asked me what I thought of it. When some of his people then present mentioned the affair of Mr. Amyatt's death, he declared he had never given any order of killing Mr. Amyatt, but after receiving advice of Mr. Ellis having attacked Patna, he had ordered all his servants to take and imprison all the English in the provinces wherever they could find them; he likewise added that if a treaty was not set afoot he would bring the King, the Marattoes, and Abdyllo, against us, and so ruin our trade, etc. He had finished his letters, and ordered boats and Guards to conduct me, when upon the advice of some of his people he stopped me, and said there was no occasion for me to go; after his sending for me, at first he ordered the Seapoys (in whose charge I was) to go to their quarters, and two Moguls and twelve Harcarras to attend me, but to let me go about the City where I pleased. I then applied for to have Liberty to stay at the Dutch Factory which was granted, I applied to Mindi Aly Cawn for his interest in behalf of the gentlemen in the Chelsetoon who were seven in number, and were not killed till the 11th of Octr., but when he was petitioned about them he gave no answer, but still sent orders to Simroo to cut them off; I likewise applied to Ali Ibrahim Cawn to interceed for them, but he gave him no answer either, tho' I was present when Ibrahim Cawn petitioned for them.

The 14th.—On the approach of our army, Cossim Ally decamped with his troops in great confusion and marched as far as Fulwary, 3 cosse to the westward of the city. The Harcarrahs that were with me having no orders about me, I gave them some money which made them pretty easy.

The 23rd.—After giving money to a Jamatdar, that had the Guards to the Westward of the Dutch Factory, by the River side, I set out in a small Pulwar, and got safe to the boats under command of Captain Wedderburn, that were lying opposite to the City, on the other side of the river, and at 11 o'clock that night arrived at the Army, under the command of Major Adams lying at Jutly.

EVAN COTTON.

The Nabob is said to have spared Dr. Fullarton because of some previous medical service he had rendered him.

The Indian Historical Records Commission

EIGHTH SESSION AT LAHORE

IN my previous articles the readers of *Bengal: Past and Present* have been furnished with an account of the origin and scope of the Indian Historical Records Commission and its activities during the first seven years of its existence. In the present article I propose to give a brief account of the eighth session of the Commission which was held at Lahore on the 23rd November 1925. His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey opened the proceedings of the Commission. After welcoming the members of the Commission he assured them that since Sir Edward Maclagan addressed the Commission on its first visit to the city of Lahore in 1920 the Punjab Government had spared no pains for the better preservation, classification and publication of their records. His Excellency then briefly dwelt on the nature and extent of the Punjab records. The earliest vernacular records of any importance were those known as the Dinanath papers, relating to the period of Maharaja Ranjit Singh; while the oldest British records dated from 1808 to 1849 and consisted of manuscript volumes of the Delhi, Ambala and Ludhiana Agencies. These had all been stored and preserved in a fitting setting in the romantic surroundings of the tomb of Anarkali. Sir Malcolm next referred to the valuable work of cataloguing and listing the historical documents of the Punjab carried out by Major Garrett, their Record Keeper, and commended to the Punjab research student the fascinating field of investigation offered by the study of the old official records. In the absence of Mr. R. B. Ewbank, the ex-officio President of the Commission, Sir Evan Cotton thanked His Excellency on behalf of the members. He said that this was the fourth session of the Commission and very likely the last over which he had the honour to preside and gave an indication of the manner in which the Commission has discharged its duties during the time he had been connected with it. He referred to the progress that was being made all over India with regard to the cataloguing and the classification of the various historical records, and the interest which has been roused among the Feudatory Chiefs in the matter of examining their own state records which were very often of the utmost historical value. He expressed sincere satisfaction at the admirable way in which this work was being done at Lahore, which he considered to be one of the model centres of historical research in India.

After His Excellency retired Sir Evan Cotton was voted to the chair. The first item on the agenda was the passing of a vote of condolence, expressing regret at the demise of Her Late Majesty Queen Alexandra, proposed from the chair, and carried unanimously, the audience standing in solemn

silence. A number of interesting papers were then read the more important of which are noticed below.

Sir Evan Cotton's contribution took the form of an authoritative monograph on "The Journals of Archibald Swinton" which appeared in the last number of *Bengal: Past and Present*. The events related to the period 1752 to 1766 when Swinton was in India. He wrote of his experience under Clive, the capture of Arcot, the expedition to the Point Negrais in Aracan, the Northern Sircars, Sylhet and Cachar, and the capture of Patna. As Persian Secretary to Carnac he was one of the signatories to the treaty of Allahabad.

Mr. A. C. Woolner, Principal of the Oriental College and Dean of the Punjab University Instruction, in his paper gave an interesting account of the two collection of manuscripts which had been formed during the last ten years or so, in the Punjab University Library and in the Lal Chand Library of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. These manuscripts, he said, had been collected from many places and at considerable expense. Among these the most unique were the palm leaf commentary on the Rigveda by Udgithacharya, Maheswar's commentary on the Niruptam, and Harit's commentary on Valmiki's Ramayan.

Major H. L. O. Garrett in his paper on the Punjab Record Office gave an interesting account of the records stored at Anarkali's Tomb. The Sikh records, generally known as the Dinanath records, were under examination, and were likely to throw a flood of light on Ranjit Singh's administration.

Professor Muhammad Shafi gave a lucid description of the Persian and Arabic Manuscripts which were on view in the Historical Exhibition held in connectinn with the meeting of the Commission. The oldest and most interesting in the collection of manuscripts was a volume of the Qanun of Bu Ali Sina dated A. H. 669. Some of the manuscripts of the 9th and 10th centuries belonged to some of the famous Indian Libraries of the Mughal period. The Makhzan-i-Afghani and the Kulliyat of Muhammad Quli Salim being autograph copies possessed unique interest. Some of the manuscripts bore remarks in the handwriting of famous men like Abd al Rahim Khan Khanan, Sultan Muhammad Qutub Shah and others.

Mr. H. G. Rawlinson of Poona gave a brief account of the life of John Ovington, the author of the valuable and entertaining book "Voyage to Suratt 1689", which is one of the best travel-books of the 17th century.

Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, of the Hooghly College, in a very interesting paper traced the origin of the institution of "The Munsiffs" under the East India Company. The real author of this well-known and valuable branch of the judicial administration appears to have been Mr. Edward Otto Ives, the Superintendent of the Murshidabad Diwani Adalat. He found that the disputes which the Superintendent alone could decide were nothing in proportion to the number of causes instituted, and considered that some system of decentralisation in the interests of justice and efficiency were speedily needed. He accordingly submitted a plan to the Chief and Council

at Murshidabad, who obtained the Board's sanction to the project. Responsible persons under the title of 'Munsiffs' were appointed to hear petty cases. They were to sit six days a week in places near the cutcherry and had to execute *muchalkas* that they would receive no bribe or present on any pretence whatsoever.

Professor Samaddar has for sometime past been collecting materials for a history of the Bargi invasion of Bengal. He has already published in the columns of *Bengal: Past and Present* a translation of the Maharastra Puran a contemporary record in Bengali which throws a flood of light on the subject. In his paper he tells us of another Bengali record relating to the Marhatta incursion which has been discovered by him recently. It is a song or properly speaking a ballad—গাথা—sung in Bishnupore in the district of Bankura known as (মদনমোহনের বন্দনা) Madan Mohaner Vandana (Adoration of the god Madan Mohan). It was evidently composed after the first incursion of the Marhattas under General Bhaskar Pandit in 1742. Much of the ballad is of a legendary character. The Hindu god Madan Mohan is said to have taken up the defence of the fort of Bishnupore against an attack of the Bargis. This is a fanciful method of historical narration common in the East, but the fact remains that the Bargis met here with a check and the Mahratta forces were unable to pierce through the strong fortifications.

Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis of Satara whose lamented death has removed a great personality from the field of historical research in India contributed a paper on the "Maharatta Ambassadors at the Court of Delhi and their correspondence". In this paper he gave a brief account of one of the historic families of the Deccan, the Hingnes, who represented the Peshwas at the Court of Delhi from 1734 to 1800 A.D. The complete correspondence between the Hingne brothers and the Peshwa from 1780 to 1795 A.D. which has become available fully reflects the fallen state of the Court at Delhi at a period when there was a keen competition between the Marathas, the English and the Rohillas for the establishment of supremacy at Delhi.

Khan Sahib Moulvi Zafar Hasan read a paper on a "Farman of Maryam Zamani Begum" the mother of the Emperor Jahangir which disproved the story that she was the Portuguese wife of Akbar. This Farman was recently offered to the Khan Sahib for sale. Unfortunately it is not in a good state of preservation and is only partly readable, indicating that it was issued by Maryam Zamani in favour of one Mudabbir Beg to restore his Jagir which was usurped by one Suraj Mal at the Pargana Chaupala (the modern Moradabad) in the *sarkar* of Sambhal.

Mr. Mesrobian J. Seth's paper gave an interesting account of the Armenians in the days of the East India Company. The Armenians were the pioneers of the foreign trade in India, and the English merchants on their arrival found them well established in the country. They were carrying on an extensive trade with Asia Minor and Europe through the Arabian and Persian Gulfs. They were greatly favoured by the Mughals and the

efforts of the Dutch to strangle the Armenian trade by violence at the mouth of the two gulfs failed ignominiously. The illustrious Armenian leader Khoja Phanoos Kalandar was prevailed upon to enter into a treaty with the company of "London Merchants trading to the East Indies" by which the Armenians agreed to divert their extensive trade with Europe from the old channel to the new route round the Cape exclusively through British shipping. The treaty which was concluded on the 20th of June 1688 proved—as the future events showed—the death knell of the Armenian trade in India.

Monsieur Singaravelou Pillai, Curator of the Old Records of French India, at Pondicherry, gave in his paper a brief life sketch of the famous Venetian diplomat Nicolas Manuchy who visited India during the reign of Shah Jahan in 1686 as also a copy of his last Will and Testament. Manuchy's profession as a doctor helped him in retaining his position at the Great Mughal's court for forty years. His services were also utilised by the Madras and Pondicherry Governments for sending him as an ambassador to the Courts of the Native princes. He published several important historical works in Portuguese.

The paper of Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J., brought to light for the first time some of the transactions of the Sultan of Bijapur with the Portuguese Governor, Dom Braz de Castro. He based his paper on letters and documents of the Portuguese Government Archives at Panjim among which are preserved four original letters in Persian of Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur.

Professor C. S. Srinivasachari gave an account of the encouragement afforded by the Government for the promotion of Dravidian linguistic studies in the days of John Company. He mentioned in particular the scholarship and linguistic attainments of the early Jesuit missionaries at Madura and the activities of the Serampore mission.

Mr. L. M. Crump, I.C.S., pieced together the story of "Rupmati of Mandu". It was the discovery in Bhopal of a fragment of Ahmad ul Umari's Persian manuscript describing the romance of Rupmati that led to a keen search for the remaining leaves and some of the pictures. The result has been most gratifying. All the fragments scattered about in different parts of India have been recovered. Put together, the manuscript is complete, and gives a glowing account of Rupmati, her consuming love for Baz Bahadur and her tragic death when she chose to drink the cup of poison rather than yield to the advances of Baz Bahadur's conqueror Adham Khan Koka, the general sent by Akbar in 1561 to conquer Malwa. Mandu now a ruined city was the ancient capital of the kingdom of Malwa. Rupmati's origin is lost in obscurity. She was a Brahman lady, and, according to the manuscripts, she died at Mandu.

Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan of the Allahabad University in his rather lengthy paper gave useful information regarding the various libraries and offices in which manuscripts pertaining to the History of British India of the 17th century are available.

Mr. J. C. Sinha gave an account of the Earliest Currency Committee established in India in 1787.

My paper on " Notes on the Life and Times of Ranjit Singh " based on records in the Imperial Record Department has already been published in this journal.

The Exhibition which was organised in connection with the Lahore session of the Commission was informally opened by His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab in the presence of a representative gathering of ladies and gentlemen including Lady Cotton, Mrs. Ramsbotham, Sir Mahomed Shafi and Sir Fazl Hosain. The Exhibits included a number of historical records, interesting manuscripts, Arabic, Persian and Urdu, seals, sanads, coins and paintings. The exhibits of the Imperial Record Department attracted much attention. A panorama of the city of Lahore painted in water colour in 1844, and an old Persian map of the Grand Trunk Road from Delhi to Kandahar exhibited by the Imperial Library of Calcutta proved of great interest to the Lahore public. To Major H. L. O. Garrett, M.A., I.E.S., and Lala Sitaram Kohli, M.A., of the Punjab Government College, belong the credit of collecting a number of very interesting exhibits from Kapurthala, Jhang, the Punjab University and the D. A. V. College Libraries.

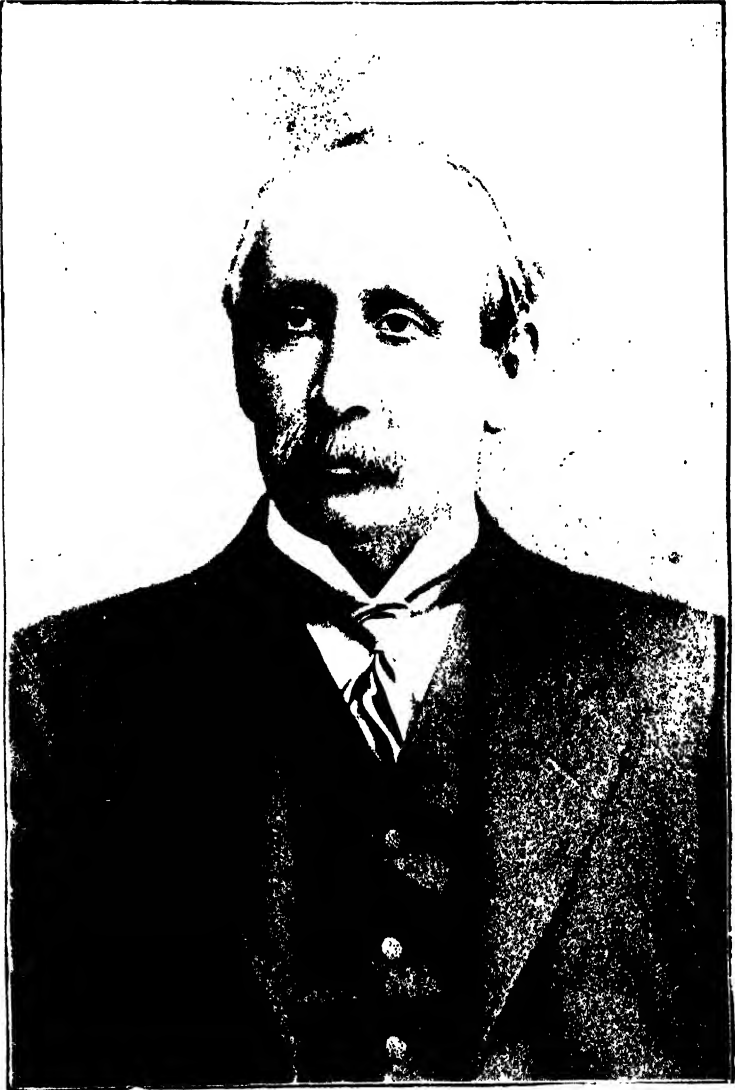
The members' meeting was held at the Punjab Record Office on the 24th November 1925 at 11 a.m. and in the afternoon the members of the Commission visited various places of historic interest at Lahore.

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

The Late Mr. Samuel Charles Hill.

EVERYONE who appreciates sound and lasting work in the domain of Indian history will have heard with regret the news that Mr. S. Charles Hill died suddenly at Torquay on 6 May last; while to those who have worked with or under him must have come an additional pang at the thought of never again seeing those eyes twinkling with quiet humour or of listening to the information or advice that was always at the service of his friends. Hill never paraded his knowledge; but no one was more ready to give assistance when asked. His acquaintance with the subjects that interested him was profound, and those engaged in cognate researches were always glad to avail themselves of his retentive memory and submit their conclusions to his acute, though ever friendly, criticism. To beginners in research work he was especially kind; and during the many months during which he worked in the India Office Reading Office numerous students appealed to him for guidance, and never in vain.

He came of a family of which two successive generations had already rendered excellent service to India. The obituary notice which appeared in the *Times* of 24 May recalls that his grandfather, the Rev. Micaiah Hill, went out of Calcutta in 1822 as an agent for the London Missionary Society, edited the *Asiatic Observer*, and in 1824 founded the mission station at Berhampore. There he laboured until 1856, when his son, the Rev. Samuel John Hill, took his place and continued the work until his death in 1891. At the outbreak of the Mutiny the family were obliged to seek refuge at Fort William, but before this incident the second son, Samuel Charles, was born at Berhampore on 16 July, 1857. He was educated at the Blackheath School for the Sons of Missionaries, at University College School, and at University College, London, where he graduated B.A. and B.Sc. Joining the Bengal Educational Service, he went the usual round of appointments as professor and principal of various colleges and inspector of schools; and then in March, 1899 he was selected to act as Officer in Charge of the Imperial Record Department and Imperial Library at Calcutta—a post in which he was confirmed, after the definite retirement of Sir George Forrest, in November of the following year. His work in this capacity is too well known in Calcutta to need more than a passing mention; but we must record that during this period he rapidly produced a number of valuable publications, *viz.*, a biography of Claud Martin (1901), an abstract of the Foreign Department Records, 1756-62 (1901), a list of the Europeans in Bengal at the time of the Black Hole (1902), *Three Frenchmen in Bengal* (1903), and above all his monumental *Bengal in 1756-57* (1905). In July, 1904 an offer of the post of Director of Public Instruction for the Central Provinces drew him from Calcutta to Nagpur, and in that capacity he spent the remainder of his Indian service.



THE LATE MR. SAMUEL CHARLES HILL
From a photograph in the Imperial Record Department,
Colonia.

Retiring in July, 1912, Hill settled in London, and devoted himself to research work. In the following year he contributed to the *English Historical Review* an article on *The Old Sepoy Officer*, containing an account of the careers of four native officers of the Madras Army; and in 1914 he followed up this vein in *Yusuf Khan, the Rebel Commandant*. He next undertook a most useful piece of work in the shape of a catalogue of the Orme MSS. in the India Office Library, which was published officially in 1916. At the time of his death he had completed a similar catalogue of the Home Miscellaneous series of the India Office Records, and this work is now in the press. In addition he had found time to make valuable contributions to various journals, including the *Indian Antiquary*, *Bengal: Past and Present*, and the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.

WILLIAM FOSTER.

We reproduce from the *Times* of May 24th last the obituary notice of the late Mr. S. C. Hill. Mr. Hill was a pioneer of research work in India and his death is a great loss.

MR. S. C. HILL.

"Mr. Samuel Charles Hill, historian of East India Company days, has died at Torquay, at the age of 68. His labours on India Office records, continued to his death, extended the family service to India over a century. His grandfather, the Rev. Micaiah Hill, went out to Calcutta as an agent for the London Missionary Society in 1822, edited the *Asiatic Observer*, and in 1824 founded the mission station at Berhampore, Murshidabad. His son, the Rev. Samuel John Hill, succeeded him and conducted the mission from 1856 to his death in 1891. His memory is still warmly cherished in Bengal, and four of his sons have gained distinction. The eldest, Dr. Micaiah Hill, F.R.S., Emeritus Professor of Mathematics in the University of London, was born at Berhampore in 1856, and he and his parents narrowly escaped murder in the Mutiny. They were refugees at Fort William, Calcutta, where the second son, Samuel Charles, was born. A younger brother, Dr. George F. Hill, is the Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, and another, Mr. W. R. Hill, was sometime secretary to the Finance Committee of the University of London.

Hill was educated at the school for the sons of missionaries at Blackheath, at University College School, and at University College, London. He joined the Indian Educational Department in 1881, was appointed Principal of the Krishnagar College in 1888, and subsequently held Professorships in the Hooghly and Presidency Colleges. He ended his service as Director of Public Instruction in the Central Provinces, but found his real bent when Lord Curzon selected him in 1900 to succeed Sir George Forrest as the officer in charge of Government of India Records, with the status of Assistant Secretary, Home Department. His most important book was his

"Bengal in 1756-57," two most critical years. His "Three Frenchmen in Bengal" (Renault, Law, and Courtin, "Chiefs" respectively of Chandernagore, Cossimbazar, and Dacca), throws much incidental light on the Anglo-French struggle for supremacy. Hill also wrote a biography of Claud Martin, the founder of the Martiniere Schools at Calcutta and Lucknow. After retirement from the Educational Service in 1912 Hill was selected to assist in the preparation of a systematic *catalogue raisonné* of the extensive collections of manuscripts in European languages in the India Office Library, and his Catalogue of the Orme Collection was published in 1916. He had since been engaged in cataloguing the important 'Home Miscellaneous' Records. His "Yusuf Khan, the Rebel Commandant" came out in 1914. All this work is marked by scientific exactitude in research, as well as by sound judgment and clarity. Some 30 years ago he collaborated with Mr. Hallward in an edition of Lamb's "Essays of Elia," which is still in demand as a school text-book. He married the second daughter of Mr. Marriott Ogle Tarbotton, the builder of the Trent bridge at Nottingham. Their only child died in infancy."

BENGAL: PAST AND PRESENT.
VOL. XXXI.



The Late Rao Bahadur D. B. PARASSNIS
of Satara.

The Late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis.

ON March 31st, 1926, occurred the sad and untimely death of Rao Bahadur Dattatraya Balwant Parasnis, a well-known citizen of Satara and a most enthusiastic worker in the field of Maratha History. Five or six days before his demise he had been suffering from fever accompanied by shivering. But little did any body dream that it would end so suddenly and fatally. He was fifty-six years old when he passed away. He leaves behind him his old and infirm parents, wife and several children, together with countless friends, both European and Indian, to mourn his loss.

D. B. Parasnis was born on the 27th November 1870. He was educated at Satara. Even when in school, he was passionately fond of reading the lives of eminent historical personages, especially of Maharashtra, and on his own initiative started a monthly magazine, replete with useful information which attracted the attention of such a renowned statesman and scholar as the late Raja Sir T. Madhav Rao. There was no difficulty in his passing the Matriculation examination. But during his college career he threw himself with greater vigour into the pursuit of his beloved subject, namely, historical research, and his untiring energy in that direction found an outlet in the *Maharashtra Kokil* a magazine started and regularly conducted by him for some years. This, however, seriously interfered with his higher education and he had soon to give up the idea of securing a University degree. In the year 1894 he published "the Life of the Rani of Jhansi", which was before long translated into the various vernaculars of India. This was followed by the publication of his another book, "the Exploits of the Marathas in Bundelkhand." About this time he turned his attention to politics and translated the Congress Report into Marathi for the benefit of the people of Maharashtra. During this (happily) very period of political activity he came in contact with the late Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade who advised him to leave the political field and devote himself entirely to the pursuit of History for which he was by nature intended. This advice he followed with alacrity, much to the benefit of India in general and Maharashtra in particular. And it is believed that he was of immense use to that veteran scholar when he wrote his classical book, "The Rise of the Maratha Power."

In 1898 he started another magazine, *Bharat Varsha* which was devoted solely to historical literature. And from that year down to 1902 he published a number of books such as "the Nawabs of Oudh", "Bramhendra Swami of Dhavadshi", Life of Baija Bai Shinde of Gwalior", "Delhi" and so forth before he sailed to England with H.H. the late Maharaja of Kolhapur. In 1908 he started his third magazine *Itihas Sangraha* which, even during its short life of seven years, published much valuable historical material, throwing light upon many obscure and hidden

points in Maratha history. He rendered similarly invaluable services to the cause of Maratha history when under the general guidance of Mahadev Govinda Ranade he was allowed to work in the Peshwas' Duftar preserved in the Land Alienation Office. Some of the volumes which embodied his Selections from the Duftars were published under the auspices of the Deccan Vernacular Translation Society of Poona and some under the patronage of Mr. Purushottam Vishram Mavji. Later on he wrote in English several interesting books on the Maratha history, the important among them being "Mahableshwar" (1916), "The Sangli State" (1917), "Poona in bygone Days" (1921), and "Panhala" (1923). He also co-operated most heartily and assiduously with Mr. C. A. Kincaid in bringing out 'A history of the Maratha People' in three volumes. In the Preface of the first of these volumes Mr. Kincaid generously acknowledges the vast knowledge, the untiring industry, and, above all, the unrivalled collection of Maratha papers which he readily placed at his disposal.

If we now take a stock of the various publications which Parasnis brought out and try to form a critical estimate of the work he did in this respect, we are compelled to agree with Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in saying that "he lived and died a collector and editor, and not a historian." The Professor seems to be right in further remarking that "it was rather unfortunate that Parasnis rushed to journalism too early, instead of completing his education." For he, would have then read some of the classical books of history written by savants of deep erudition and world-wide reputation, and would have obtained an adequate conception of history and, above all, an insight into the methods of historical criticism. Nevertheless, the work which Parasnis has done even as collector and editor is invaluable, and will be of immense use to whosoever may want to write the History of the Marathas. What is, above all, noteworthy about him was the impression he invariably gave to every body in whose contact he came, namely, that he knew much more than what he had time to publish. He possessed intimate knowledge of the delicate points connected with the private lives of the Maratha and Peshwa rulers, which he was afraid to publish for fear of giving umbrage to his countrymen. The writer of this article remembers very well the record which was in Parasnis's possession and which gave rise to a most acrimonious controversy as to whether Baji Rao I took food at the hands of his Musalman prostitute, Mastani.

But perhaps the greatest service which Parasnis has rendered to the cause of Maratha history is the foundation of the Museum at Satara containing his Collection. When he went to England in the company of the late Maharaja of Kolhapur, he happened to visit the British Museum and similar other institutions, which inspired him with the idea of founding a historical museum and collecting old records and documents. After his return he set himself to this task and in a short time succeeded in rescuing from oblivion and destruction a number of valuable records, documents and chronicles. These he developed into such a big and interesting collection that it attracted the notice of Lord Sydenham, a Governor of Bombay, who visited Satara in 1909 with the specific object of seeing and examining the Collection. Shortly

after that event, the idea of erecting a magnificent museum was conceived by Parasnis and encouraged by Lord Willingdon, who succeeded Lord Sydenham. But the Great War broke out, temporarily stopping the work of the Museum building, which, after many vicissitudes, came to be completed in 1924, that is, after a period of eleven years! The opening ceremony of this Museum was performed by Sir Leslie Wilson, the present Governor of Bombay on 3rd November, 1925,—which day Parasnis used to say to his friends “was the proudest and happiest day of his life.” But alas! hardly five months were over after this event, when he was ruthlessly snatched away by cruel Death. In the newly opened Museum he very graciously deposited his old valuable records, documents (Marathi, English and Persian), rare maps and plans, autograph letters, and his magnificent library containing rare books on Indian history, for the use of the public thereby facilitating research work for scholars. Still more attractive and important is his collection of valuable, beautiful and genuine old Indian paintings, of both Rajput and Mogul schools, and the magnificent collection of old coins.

In 1913 D. B. Parasnis was in recognition of his services to Maratha history and literature made a “Rao Bahadur”, which honour is rarely bestowed on persons engaged in his pursuits. Similarly, he was a co-opted member of the Indian Historical Records Commission, to whose annual meetings he regularly contributed a paper bearing on some interesting subject or another in Maratha history. But perhaps the greatest monument to his fame is that raised by himself, namely, his unique collections which is housed in the Satara Museum. It is impossible to gauge or describe the extreme value of this collection unless one sees it oneself. And the question that is now before the minds of historians and research scholars is what is going to be the future of this Museum and its collection. From the historical point of view Satara was perhaps the fittest place for the location of this Museum. But if the collection is to be of real use to a scholar and antiquarian, it should have been housed somewhere in Bombay or Poona. It is, however, too late to mend matters in this connection. But the Bombay Government may do well to consider whether the collection of antiquities they purchased in 1915-6, from Mr. Purushottam Vishram Mavji, at no less a price than Rs. 142,500 can be amalgamated with that deposited in the Satara Museum. It is well-known that Purushottamji's collection consists largely of antiquities of the Maratha period and it was Parasnis himself who helped him to purchase and form this collection. If the two collections can be brought together in one building, it will very much enhance the usefulness of both and will be of far greater help to a scholar or historian in the pursuit of his studies. Again, it must be remembered that Parasnis spent his whole fortune and life in collecting and preserving the old records and documents in a thoroughly selfless spirit and for the sake of the people. And it seems but just and proper that the Museum, whatever its controlling agency ultimately may be, should be named after the Maratha scholar who has laid students of history under his deepest obligations.

Our Library Table.

Rajah Rammohun Roy's Mission to England by Brojendranath Banerji.

(*N. M. Roychaudhuri & Co., Calcutta: Rupee One and Annas Four*).

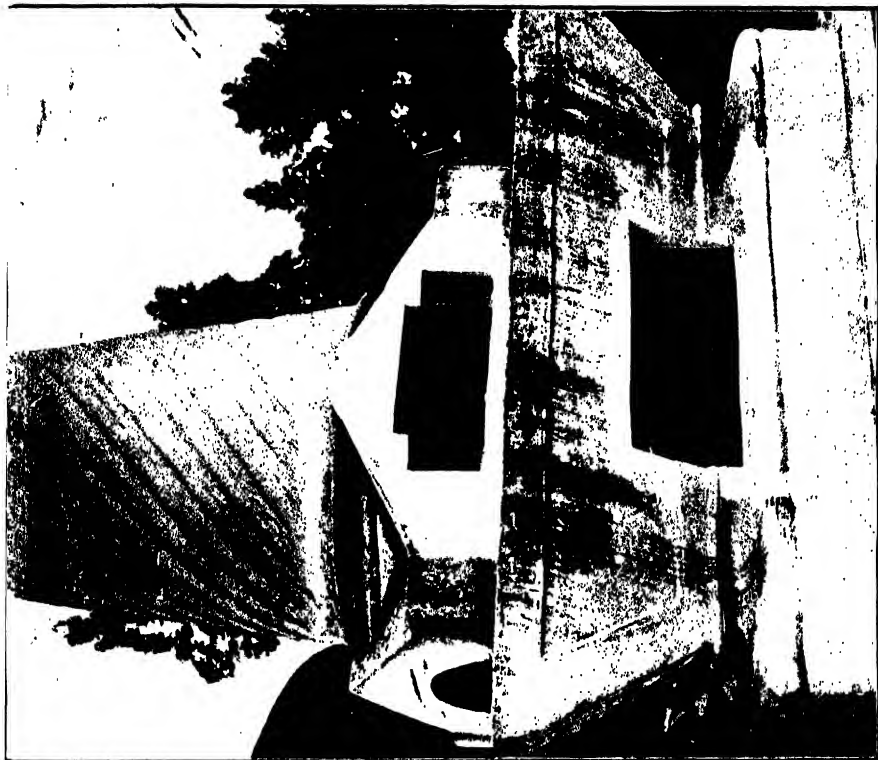
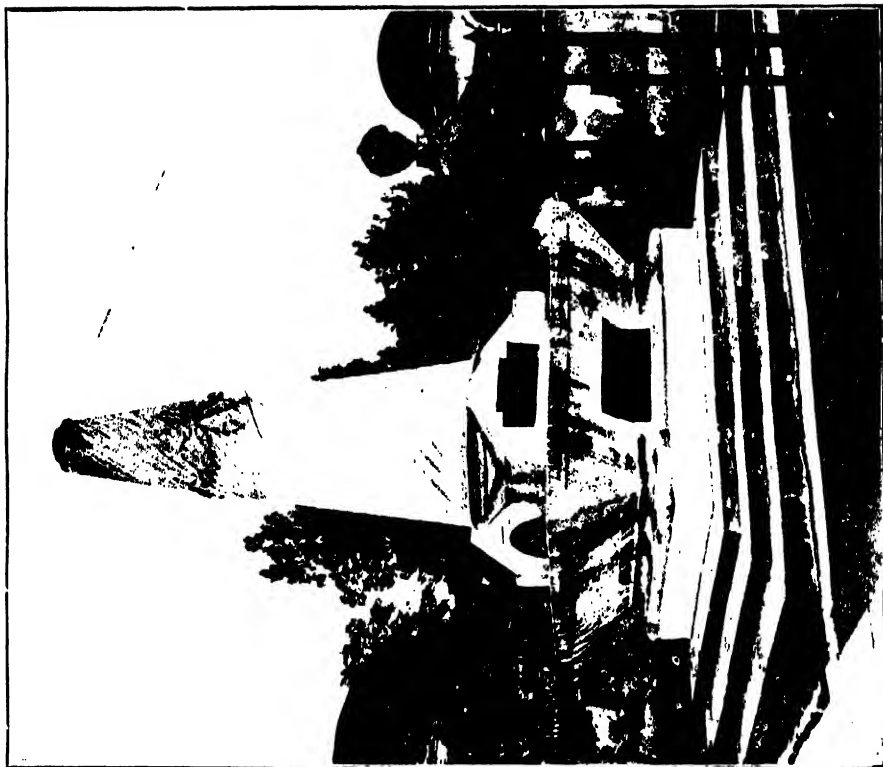
This is a useful little sketch of the circumstances which led Rajah Rammohun Roy to visit England, and the author has incorporated some entirely new correspondence of interest which he discovered in the Imperial Record Office. Unfortunately the work falls between two stools; it is neither a book nor a pamphlet; it is too small for the purchase of a library and too circumscribed for individual purchase: yet it contains valuable and useful information carefully put together, and fully annotated. It is an interesting addition to our accounts of Rajah Rammohun.

The Memoirs of William Hickey, Vol. IV (1790—1809).

(*Hurst & Blackett, Ltd.*)

The appearance of the fourth and concluding volume of these memoirs completes what is already an Indian Classic. The memoirs in this volume commence with an account of a voyage to Madras, taken for the writer's health and closes abruptly in 1809 after Hickey had settled in England, at Beaconsfield.

Many readers will no doubt agree that this volume is the most interesting of the four. By 1790, Hickey was shedding his "raffish" habits, and between 1790 and 1809 he became a prominent and respected member of Calcutta Society: he could always hold his own with the bottle as his account (pp. 189—191) shows of Colonel Sherbrooke's party in "his country residence, a small mansion at the pretty village of Aylpore, three miles from Calcutta".—This party contained some of the strongest heads in Calcutta, among whom, it is interesting to note, was Colonel Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington: "after drinking two and twenty bumpers in glasses of considerable magnitude, the President [Colonel Sherbrooke] said everyone might then fill according to his discretion, and so discreet were all of the Company that we continued to follow the Colonel's example of drinking bumpers until two o'clock in the morning...a more severe debauch I never was engaged in in any part of the world." "Autre temps, autres mœurs"; Hickey relates this with a complacency that reads strangely when compared with his attitude towards cheroot smoking. General St. Leger's demand for a cigar (pp. 157—158) was considered by Hickey to be a jest, "not supposing so elegant a man could ever have been in the habit of using so vulgar a herb": when he realised that General St. Leger was in earnest, Hickey led the General up to a room "used only by the servants by the circular back stairs": in other words, by the sweeper's staircase: imagine being conducted nowadays by a similar route to enjoy a smoke.



ROSE AVLIMER'S TOMB.
Showing the Added Table bearing Landor's Elegy.
(Photos by C. F. Hooper, Esq.)

Names of the greatest interest to all readers of old Calcutta history frequently occur. The pomp of Lord Wellesley and the simple habits of Lord Cornwallis are forcibly contrasted in the description (pp. 318—320) of the reception of Lord Cornwallis by Lord Wellesley in the new Government House in May 1805: Lord Cornwallis actually refused to drive in the carriage sent to meet him, and walked to Government House (this was in May) "accompanied by many gentlemen of the Settlement" who had gone to meet him. We read further that "the two Marquises embraced" at the foot of the stairs of Government House, and then proceeded up the stairs hand-in-hand. Viceroys nowadays adopt a less picturesque method of taking and handing over charge.

Hickey pays tribute to Rose Aylmer's beauty. This lady was a daughter of Lord Aylmer who had married Lady Russell's sister, and who had come out with her Aunt to India: she died, according to Hickey of some "severe bowel complaint," probably some form of dysentery, "brought on by indulging too much with that mischievous and dangerous fruit, the pineapple, against eating so much of which I had frequently cautioned her...and she laughed at me for my grave sermons."

One of the most ludicrous incidents in the book is the description of the new fashion in ladies' frocks (pp. 114—115) which the ladies who arrived in the *Thetis*, *Indiaman*, displayed; "a style that appeared to us Goths as unbecoming, as preposterous: this was the no-waist system." Further quotations cannot be made in the discreet pages of *Bengal Past and Present*, but the Dutch gentleman from Chinsura may be said to have taken the prize for "floaters" on that occasion.

Chinsura figures largely in this volume, and the references have great interest for the reviewer, who is at present living there. No trace exists of Hickey's house, but it is hoped that with the aid of some local gentlemen a few records and relics of this period may yet be found. Apparently Hickey came from Calcutta to Chinsura in four hours, about twice the normal time taken to-day: crossing the ferry at Pulta, he must have landed at Champdani, and he states that his house was exactly nine miles from where he quitted the ferry: it was close to the river. His reasons for building the house, which cost him Rs. 40,000, were to gratify his Indian mistress whom he calls "Jemdane," of whom he was extremely fond, and who seems to have been a very attractive and amusing lady. He entertained a lot in this house and among his guests were Colonel Wellesley, Sir Henry Russell, General St. Leger and all the "bon ton" of Calcutta, of course without their wives. In June 1797 Hickey had a large house party, for the three days racing which "could scarcely have been excelled at New Market...the different horses that ran were undoubtedly as beautiful animals as could be found in any part of the world..." Such horses are no longer seen in Chinsurah, where all recollection even of the site of the Race-Course has been lost. On the 4th June, Hickey celebrated the King's birthday, "engaging an eminent French cook from Calcutta to dress the dinner." Sixteen sat down, and General St. Leger "in the course of the evening sang 'the British Grenadiers' with high spirit", so that was that; but "at ten o'clock the

next morning...all complained more or less of headache or slight sickness." How one would have liked to have seen Col. Wellesley's face, say, during the singing of "the British Grenadiers," or "the next morning". The Dutch Governor, Mr. Van Citters, also entertained the party.

The whole book is full of good things, and there is a temptation to quote from almost every page. After 1800, Hickey was clear of debt and found himself without any effort accumulating money fast enough to make a return to England possible. His health and his constitution were showing signs, as well they might do, of wear and tear. When he left Bengal, he had saved about a lakh and a half of rupees. His passage home cost Rs. 8,000; his outfit in clothes, "furniture for cabin", Rs. 20,800 and his outlay in wine for the voyage, Rs. 1,235. He distributed Rs. 2,000 among his 63 servants, and by the time he had met all expenses he had Rs. 92,000 left, which, invested with the Company, brought in an income of some £900 per annum. The story of his voyage home is told in detail.

Hickey was a snob in some respects, and his comments on his contemporaries must be received with caution. He thought little of any man who did not belong to the same hard-drinking lot as himself, or who had no influential connections. He was otherwise a fair judge of men, and a staunch friend. He has his counterpart to-day, *mutatis mutandis*, in many parts of India. His memoirs, as a self-revelation, are only equalled by the diary of Samuel Pepys, and there is a cynical honesty about Hickey in regard to himself which is wholly wanting in Samuel Pepys.

The volume is, as may be expected, admirably printed and produced and edited. The prefatory note of the Editor gives some interesting details of the manuscript; there are also useful notes also which indicate the portions deleted in each of the four volumes. The manuscript should be a national possession, and deposited in the British Museum.

R. B. R.

The Editor's Note Book.

THE EDITOR is glad to announce that H. E. the Viceroy has kindly consented to become Patron of the Calcutta Historical Society in succession to Lord Reading.

Lord Irwin is a distinguished student of History, obtaining a 1st class in the Honour School of modern History at Oxford, and afterwards obtaining the great distinction of being elected in the same subject to a Fellowship of All Souls.

PLACE AUX DAMES. In 1787 "Bob" Pott was Resident at Moorshedabad and living in royal state in his mansion at Afzulbaug. Among his other accomplishments we suspect the volatile Robert to have been a poetizer. In 1788 he married his first cousin Miss Sally Cruttenden, and on Thursday, April 26th, 1787, there appeared the following verses in the Poet's Corner of the *Calcutta Gazette* with the note, "Sir, By inserting the accompanying in your Paper, you will oblige A Well Wisher."

ACROSTICK.

Some who a partner seek for life
Are anxious for a wealthy wife;
Look for high birth, a title crave,
Love seems to them but Lucre's slave.
Ye sordid fools, just heed ye find.
Choose! with more judicious mind,
Riches of greater worth than gold.
Unconscious dignity: unfold
The soul with noblest gifts elate,
Tho' humble to the lowest state.
Endowments, all that tend to please,
Neatness, elegance, cheerful ease.
Dance, musick, song; fair form and face
Each mental charm; each winning grace,
Nam'd in the lines which now I trace.

It is an interesting comment to find that the lady who combined like Minerva so much intellect with so much charm was a heiress with an income of six thousands pounds a year.

A YEAR after his marriage Pott was dismissed from his office. His career is altogether different from that of his father, Dr. Percival Pott. Dr. Percival Pott (1713-1788) of whom may almost be said the words which Napoleon used of his famous surgeon Dominique Jean Baron de Larrey (1766-1842), when leaving him in his testament a legacy

of 100,000 francs, "C'est l'homme le plus vertueux que j'aie connu." It is not generally known that Larrey was wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Waterloo. Percival Pott's bust by Hollins adorns the Council Room of the Royal College of Surgeons, the place where sits or sat the awful conclave of Examiners. The Doctor at a comparatively early age was appointed principal surgeon at Barts and only resigned that office in 1787 "after having served it," as he expressed himself, "man and boy for half a century" and in Dec. 1788 he died at the age of 75. Sir Charles Blicke, his assistant, succeeded him and his assistant-surgeon was the famous John Abernethy (1764-1831) who really founded the distinguished medical school of this the most ancient hospital in London.

There is an interesting reference to "Bob" Pott's troubles in the Nesbitt Thompson Letters No. 10, printed in *B. P. and P.*, Vol. XVI, Serial No. 31, page 10. Writing from Alipoor on Thursday August 17th 1785 he remarks "Poor Pott has been in hot water ever since you left us. The villainous intrigues of his own Dewan Soonder Sing and of the Begum's Dewan Roy Maunick Churn have kept up the fire. I have in vain endeavoured to extinguish it—for to go on with the metaphor—pott boiled over and I was in danger of being scalded."

ON the 27th January 1785 was published "Printed in the manner of the Bath Guide and Embellished with copper plates. The Indian Guide or Journal of a Voyage to the East Indies in a series of Political Epistles to her mother from Miss Emily Brittle." No copy of this curious specimen of light literature is extant to-day in Calcutta. It was presumably a precursor of Hartly House, a series of 39 letters "to her friend Arabella," published in London and Dublin in 1789 by a literary hack who wrote under the pseudonym: of Sophia Goldborne and whom I strongly suspect to have been Mr. Johnston, author of *Chrysal* or the Adventures of a Guinea. The witty author of the New Bath Guide was Christopher Anstey (1724-1805) who lies buried with Madame d'Arblay in St. Withins Walcot. "So much wit," wrote Horace Walpole, "so much humour, fun and poetry never met together before." A good story is told in the life of James Smith (joint-author with his brother Charles of the Rejected Addresses) that when Anstey was presented to the veteran Bishop Warburton, he said, "Young man, I will give you a piece of advice; you have written a highly successful work; never put pen to paper again."

ANSTEY nevertheless did put pen to paper again with excellent effect in the Election Ball and in An Imitation of the First Ode of the First Book of Horace, to John Miller, Esq., whose wife had established a poetical coterie at her villa at Batheaston. Among the characters described by the Bathonian bard is an old Nabob.

Colonel Jaghires
in Anstey's New
Bath Guide (1766).

Secure from wars, and dangerous seas,
 Colonel Jaghire enjoys his ease.
 Buys lands, and beeves with Indian gold,
 Which some poor English squire has sold;
 King, Lords, and Commons he defies,
 "The town is all my own," he cries,
 "That cursed climate I've been hurt in
 "And nabob-making grows uncertain—
 "This snug retreat I'm safe from harm in,—
 "How sweet that wood! that lawn how charming."
 But ah! his passion soon returns,
 With restless flames his bosom burns;
 His bark he rigs, resolv'd once more
 The distant Ganges to explore,
 Rather than on his native ground
 To starve—on fourscore thousand pound.

THE *Times* of the 3rd October, 1809, had the following curious advertisement which was reproduced in the same paper on the 2nd October, a hundred years later. The Catalogue (page 823) of the Calcutta Imperial Library shows that a copy of the work is in the library. "This day is published, price 6s. boards, *The Ladies' Monitor*, being a series of Letters, first published in Bengal, upon the subject of female apparel; tending to favour a regulated adoption of Indian costume, and a rejection of superfluous vesture, by the Ladies of this country; with Incidental Remarks upon Hindu beauty, whalebone stays, iron busks, Indian corsets, man millinery, idle bachelors, hair powder, side saddles, waiting maids, and footmen. By the author of a *Vindication of the Hindus*.

'From vulgar bounds, with brave disorder part,
 'And snatch a grace, beyond the reach of art.'—Pope."

THAT fortunes were to be made by officers in the old East India Company's army is exemplified by the case of John Forbes, who entered the Bengal Army as a cadet in 1764 and retired from it on Aug. 21, 1799 a Major General. On his death the *Gentleman's Magazine* records; "Oct. 3, 1808. At his house in Dunbar, Major General John Forbes, late in the E. I. Co.'s Service. He returned from Bengal about 8 years ago with a competent fortune after serving the Company with reputation about 40 years. He was the youngest son of George Forbes Esquire of Lockermick, near Aberdeen." He commanded the station at Berhampore, when William Hickey dashed through it with Pott and his body-guard of troopers in 1785 on the occasion of his and Major George Russell's visit to Pott's palace at Afzulbaug. At the dinner party at 2 p.m. at which 30 sat down in Pott's mansion was present George Farington, the landscape painter, a brother of Joseph Farington, R.A., who died at Moorshedabad in 1788. George Russell rose in his

The Ladies Monitor
 (1809).

Major General
 John Forbes.

turn to be Major General and died Dec. 6, 1827 in London, after a service in the Bengal Army which extended from 1767 to 1813.

SECOND in command at Berhampore was Colonel Horton Briscoe, who also closed his career as a Major General, dying at Calcutta on Christmas day 1802 aged 61 "after a period of 40 years of unremitted service" as his epitaph in the South Park Street burial ground testifies. His daughter Maria or Marian was born in the Hastings House in Calcutta and is said to have derived her Christian name from the second Mrs. Hastings. She returned to India in 1793 under the care of Lady Shore in the same ship with the Misses Blunt and her sisters. They all married well but Maria "obit May 16, 1796, Ætat 24. Hinc illæ lacrimæ." Her brother Lieut. John J. Briscoe, of the Bengal Artillery, had died 4 years earlier on Nov. 2, 1792 aged 27.

IN the Fourth Volume of Hickey's Memoirs mention is made of the arrival of these young ladies. "The Thetis Indiaman (Captain Bullock) which arrived in July (1793) brought out a great importation of new ladies, the whole dressed in the no-waist system, a style that appeared to us Goths as unbecoming as preposterous. The importation consisted of Lady Shore, with one daughter about 13 years of age, five daughters of Sir Charles Blunt and the same number of General Briscoe's; all very fine, showy, and dashing women. With the single exception of the eldest Miss Blunt, they all shortly after arrival married very advantageously. Miss Blunt had a profusion of suitors and many offers, but capriciously, as was deemed, refused them all. After residing a few seasons in Bengal, she returned to England still a spinster, but had not long been at home before she married Mr. Imhoff, one of Mrs. Hasting's sons by her German husband."

HORTON BRISCOE was twice married, first to Maria Howett on Feb. 9, 1769, and secondly to Millicent Jane Banks on July 28, 1774. The birth of twin daughters by his first wife is recorded in the Register of Baptisms of St. John's Church, Calcutta, on Dec. 9, 1769; their names being Anna Bella and Elizabeth. The child Anna Bella died on Dec. 15, 1769. By his second wife Millicent he had the daughter Maria, baptized on Nov. 6, 1777, whose death we have just recorded.

FROM Lady Shore's garden house on May 20, 1795, two of the Misses Blunt were married to two titled Bengal civilians, Anna Maria to the Hon. Charles Andrew Bruce, brother of the seventh Lord Elgin, and Lydia, the fifth daughter, to Sir Alexander Seton, Bart. Anna Maria died at Hooghly Sept. 19, 1798, after one day's illness, aged 23, and her husband after 27 years' service in Bengal was appointed Governor of Prince of Wales' Island, a post he held for only ten months, dying there on Sept. 26, 1810, aged 42.

WILLIAM HODGES, R.A., in his *Travels in India*, writing of the tomb of the Emperor Acbar at Secundrii (three coss or a little less from Delhi) which he visited with Major Brown in Feb. 1783 speaks of a large print "by that excellent artist Mr. Brown which has been engraved and published from a picture of the Grand Gate, which gives a more perfect idea of its grandeur than words are able to express."

IS anything known of the print and of its artist? And is anything known of Mr. Morris, the portrait painter who advertised as follows? "Portrait Painting. Mr. Morris having taken a house in Wheler Place, directly behind the Governor's House, begs leave to inform such ladies and gentlemen who may be inclined to favour him with their sittings, that he is ready to paint them at the following prices. A head size, 15 gold mohurs. Three-quarters, 20 ditto. Kitcat, 25. Half length, 40. Whole length 80. Calcutta 5th April 1798." The prices quoted show the rates of the time, but ten years later Mr. F. F. Belnos, miniature painter and drawing master, "painted miniature pictures at the rate of 130 sicca rupees each. 25th January 1810."

WARREN HASTINGS talks somewhere in his *Diary* of building a Bathroom in his house at Daylesford. The fashion seems to have prevailed in Calcutta long before, judging from the announcement which appeared in the *Calcutta Gazette* for Thursday, April 27th, 1788. "The practice now universally adopted among the genteel families of the Settlement, of having Baths in their houses, lined, or only floored with marble slabs likewise Halls and other Apartments, induces James Palmer (No. 39 Rada Bazar) to acquaint the ladies and gentlemen of this Settlement, that he has lately purchased a large Assortment of marble slabs, for the above mentioned purposes. He erects marble Baths, and lays marble floors in Halls and other Apartments, on the most reasonable terms."

MR. PALMER is the same gentleman who offered his whole-time services to the public in a different capacity some years earlier. "James Palmer, Undertaker, near Mr. Oliphant's, Coach Maker, Cossatoollah. Most respectfully informs the public, that in consequence of the encouragement he has received from the Chaplains of this Presidency, he has laid in a stock of new and elegant Coffin Furniture, and of all other materials proper for the above business, which he is resolved and enabled to execute on the most reasonable terms, and therefore hopes for the countenance and support of the Settlement, being determined to pay due attention to his business, and having no other employment to call him from it."

J. J. COTTON.

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